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ROADS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF MINNESOTA

IN THE STORY of settlement in America, the difficulty of travel in newly opened areas is a constantly recurring theme. As soon as the settlers of America moved inland from the coastal waters, their troubles began, for there were few roads, and it was no easy task to build them. Yet, the growth of the American nation hinged upon roads, for, until they were built and communication was improved, settlement was retarded. The problem of road building had to be faced anew by each generation of pioneers on the westward march, and by the time Minnesota was reached, the nation had almost a hundred and fifty years of experience in pioneering and road making.

At the time of the organization of Minnesota Territory in 1849, there were fewer than five thousand white persons living in the whole area. Less than a decade later—in 1858—the territory became a state with an estimated population of more than a hundred and fifty thousand. Each decade thereafter showed an astounding increase in population until, at the close of the nineteenth century, when the frontier had all but vanished, the state had a population of more than a million and three-quarters. In 1849, the population centers of Minnesota were at St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater. Together they had fewer than two thousand inhabitants, but that was more than forty per cent of the people then living in Minnesota. In 1860 the same communities had a combined population of well over eighteen thousand—only about ten per cent of the total state popu-

lation. Half a dozen other settlements were large enough to be called cities, but Minnesota was decidedly a rural state, and rural it was to remain for almost half a century. It was the lure of free or cheap land, presenting an opportunity to gain prosperity or at least a livelihood, which drew people to the frontier.¹

In the settlement of Minnesota, the rivers played a part of overwhelming importance. No one can gainsay the influence of the Mississippi in that drama, for it was the one artery of travel to the new territory. Had it not been for the river steamboat, settlement in Minnesota would have consisted only of a slow advance of the frontiers from the East and the South.

At the opening of the territorial period, there was an island of settlement in a restricted area at the head of navigation on the Mississippi River. This area was separated from settlements in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa by a wilderness more than a hundred miles in width, penetrated by neither road nor railroad. Only the Mississippi River broke the barrier, and it seemed to fill all communication needs for the tiny settlements about Fort Snelling. From this center, as well as from the older communities on the frontiers of Iowa and Wisconsin, settlement in Minnesota spread out, following navigable rivers, north, south, and west—the Mississippi, the St. Croix, and the Minnesota. Since the lands along the rivers were the most accessible, they usually were the first to be taken up, although, from the agricultural standpoint, they often were inferior to those farther removed from navigable streams.² The settlers

¹ William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 352; 2: 1, 64; 3: 251 (St. Paul, 1921, 1924, 1926). Included in the figure for 1860 is the population of Minneapolis. The present article is based upon an extended study of the "Development of the Minnesota Road System," completed in 1938. A copy is preserved in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society.

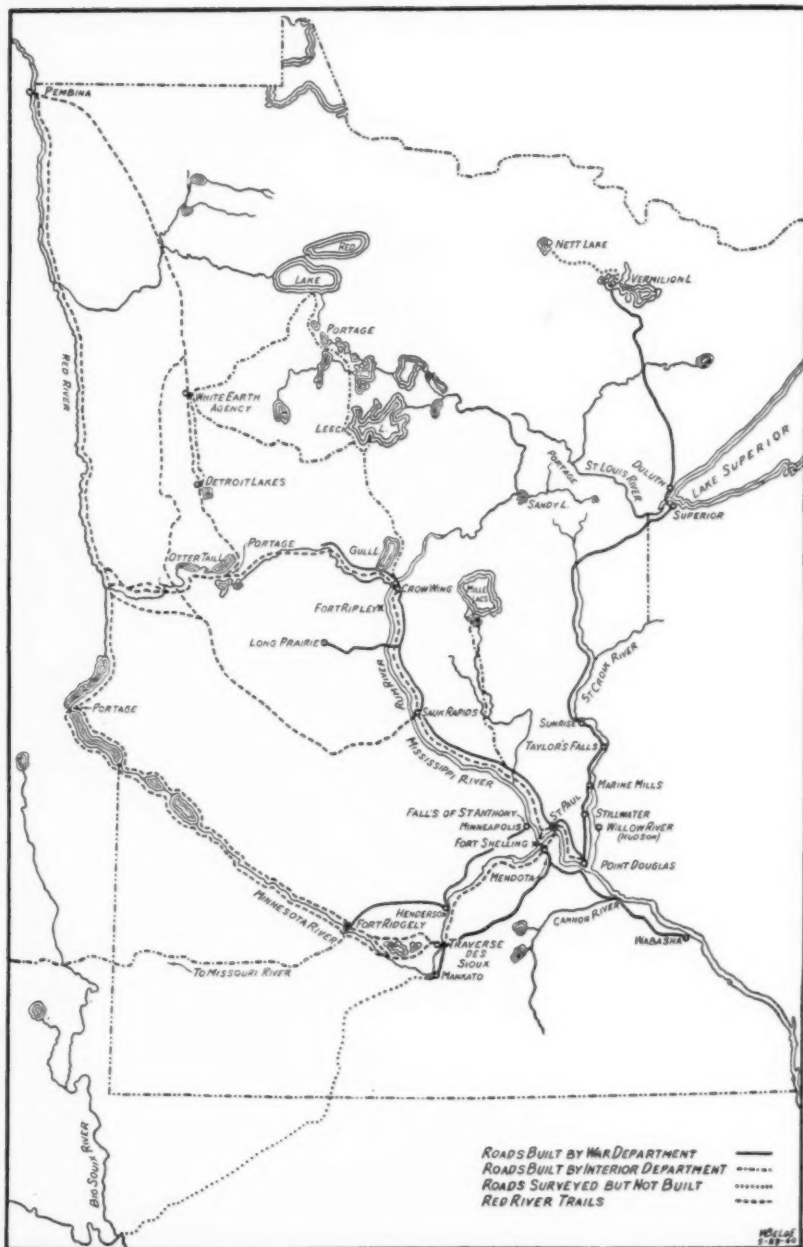
² "There is probably not a farm-house, or cabin of a white man, at a distance of ten miles from navigable water, in the whole Territory," reads a statement in the *St. Anthony Express* for January 28, 1854.

were eager to get at the lands in the interior, but the absence of roads was a formidable obstacle.

No means of travel by land from Wisconsin or Iowa to the Minnesota country were open before the organization of the territory. Though the Mississippi River was closed by ice during four or five months of each season, there were few complaints, for the few frontiersmen who lived in Minnesota were self-contained, accustomed to winter's isolation. With the arrival of new settlers, however, the need for a route to the outside country began to make itself felt, for the newcomers, less inured to the hardships of the frontier, complained of the lack during the winter of mail service, of supplies, and of the simple necessities to which they were accustomed in older communities. By the time the wave of immigration was well under way in 1849, they had succeeded in opening a rough trail from the Minnesota country along the east bank of the Mississippi through Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien and communities to the south. The route was too rough for anything but winter travel, however, and the lack of houses along the way made it a hazardous road during that bitter season.³

Within the territory itself, there were faint outlines of a communication system. The St. Croix Valley had been open for settlement since 1837, and, although the population was sparse, a few roads had been built there before Minnesota Territory was organized. Rough woods trails led from Mendota and St. Paul to Stillwater, from Mendota to Prescott, and along the west shore of Lake St. Croix to Marine and the lumber camps in the valley of the Sunrise River. Fort Snelling had been garrisoned constantly since 1819, and in the ensuing thirty years the soldiers had opened short trails to such important near-by points as the Falls of St. Anthony, Lake Calhoun, and Lake Harriet.

³ Luella Swenson, "Stage Coaching Days in Minnesota," 3. This is a term paper prepared in 1927 for a course in Minnesota history at Hamline University. The Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.



FEDERAL ROADS AND RED RIVER TRAILS

Most important of the routes of travel in Minnesota, however, were the great wilderness roads laid out during the first half of the nineteenth century by the Red River traders, who hauled supplies and furs between Mendota and St. Paul in the south and Pembina and the Red River settlements to the north. Three main routes of travel connected these two centers of population. One—the first to be opened—led from Pembina up the west side of the Red River to Lake Traverse, down the Minnesota Valley from Big Stone Lake to Traverse des Sioux, and, finally, to Mendota. A second route, laid out during the 1840's, turned east from the Red River at the point where it is joined by the Bois des Sioux, flowing north from Lake Traverse, and, following the Sauk River Valley, crossed the Mississippi near the modern city of Sauk Rapids. The trail then followed the east bank of the river to St. Paul. A third route extended in a southeasterly direction from Pembina to the vicinity of present-day Thief River Falls. There it turned southward and followed the sandy beaches left by glacial Lake Agassiz to the vicinity of Detroit Lake. From there it wound its way through the lake region about Otter Tail Lake and down the valleys of the Leaf and Crow Wing rivers to the Mississippi. The caravans crossed the river by ferry, and then the route continued along the east bank of the river to St. Cloud, where it joined the Sauk Valley trail. A cut-off trail, extending from a point on the Sauk Valley trail near Elbow Lake to the Crow Wing route above Detroit Lake, made it possible for the caravans on either route to continue their journey on the other without great hardship or loss of time.⁴

This rudimentary system of roads did not solve the communication problems of the frontier, for the trails did not

⁴Grace Lee Nute, "The Red River Trails," *ante*, 6: 278-282. The Red River trails have been mapped in detail by WPA draftsmen working under the direction of Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. The maps are in the possession of the society.

lead to the lands of greatest agricultural promise. Some settlers reached the St. Croix Valley, it is true, over roads built before 1849, but that area was small and the lands were not of the finest quality. The Red River trails followed the valleys of the Mississippi, Minnesota, and Red rivers, all three of which shortly were found to be navigable by small steamboats. From the standpoint of access to the agricultural interior, therefore, the Red River trails did little to help the settlers.

Minnesota was opened for settlement at a period in American history when the internal improvement program of the government was at its height. In the frontier states this program was an immense pork barrel into which all might dip. The pioneers, therefore, asked themselves why Minnesota should not benefit from the bounty of the government. If other states could obtain grants for the construction of canals and military roads, why could not Minnesota receive appropriations for roads, which were badly needed not only by private citizens but by the government itself? When Henry Hastings Sibley went to Washington in the fall of 1848 as the representative of Wisconsin Territory, his constituents expected him to urge Congress to appropriate funds for a system of roads in the new territory which, it was hoped, would be organized that session. One of his friends wrote to him shortly after he reached Washington that "the interests of the country require that something should be done. And at the present time there is not sufficient number of settlers . . . to effect anything by their own labor."⁵

Sibley was unable to persuade Congress to appropriate funds for roads in Minnesota during the first session he was in Washington. When he returned in the fall of 1849,

⁵ Henry L. Moss to Sibley, November 20, 1848; Orange Walker to Sibley, November 7, 1848, Sibley Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Both letters refer to petitions for roads that were being prepared by residents of Stillwater and were shortly to be forwarded to Washington.

however, he took with him memorials from the territorial legislature praying for appropriations for roads. Pressure by the people on the frontier, Sibley's own persuasiveness, and the substantial support he received from western Senators and Congressmen won the initial appropriation for government roads in Minnesota. The amount was not large — it was only forty thousand dollars — but it was the first in a long series of appropriations for roads and bridges in Minnesota which eventually reached the high total of about half a million dollars.⁶

The government roads formed a network over the whole area of Minnesota, centering in the region about the head of navigation on the Mississippi and spreading out like the spokes of a wheel. One road extended northward through the St. Croix Valley toward Lake Superior, and eventually connected that inland sea with the navigable waters of the Mississippi River. A second followed the western bank of the Mississippi southward to the foot of Lake Pepin, a guarantee of contact between St. Paul and spring traffic on the Mississippi below that ice-locked lake. A third road followed the Minnesota Valley southwestward to the great bend of the river, where Mankato now stands, then led across country in the direction of Council Bluffs. A fourth followed the Mississippi northward as far as the new fort — first called Fort Gaines but afterward renamed Fort Ripley — near the mouth of the Crow Wing River. Roads of lesser importance from the standpoint of the immediate needs of the territory served to bind the scattered Indian agencies of Minnesota to the center of government.

These roads did not serve the purpose desired by Minnesotans, although they improved existing transportation facilities. They supplemented the navigable rivers, which were

⁶ *Laws*, 1849, p. 165, 169, 172, 173; *Statutes at Large*, 9:439; *Statement of Appropriations and Expenditures for Public Buildings, Rivers and Harbors, Forts, Arsenal, Armories, and Other Public Works*, from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1882, 337 (47 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 196 — serial 1992).

usually icebound four or five months every winter, and were sometimes too low for navigation in the summer. The new roads guaranteed a regular flow of supplies, mail, and passengers, and they were so planned that they facilitated the protection of the frontier—the real justification for their construction—but in themselves they did not lead the people to the land. Hard-headed Congressmen were not responsive to that need of the frontier.

Even the most optimistic advocates of an extensive program of road building at the expense of the federal government realized, however, that most of the burden of constructing roads must rest upon the shoulders of the people themselves. They were content to have the federal government mark out the main lines of the system and to use their energies for building the trails to the land itself—an undertaking that taxed the financial resources of the frontier. Thus the first territorial legislature enacted legislation designed to open roads through wilderness country in advance of settlement or contemporaneously with the occupation of the land, and succeeding legislatures followed suit.⁷

At first road building was complicated by the fact that the land west of the Mississippi still was Indian country, although numerous squatters had moved onto it. Until the treaties of 1851 were negotiated no attempt was made to open roads in this great area. The legislature of 1852, however, confident that the treaties would be ratified and the lands opened to settlement, directed that a ferry be established across the Mississippi at Reads Landing and authorized the opening of a road westward from that point to the Minnesota River, thus connecting the new Minnesota country with Wisconsin. Not to be outdone by the squatters at Reads Landing, the ambitious members of the Rollingsstone colony, near the present site of Winona, and the

⁷ *Laws*, 1849, p. 83.

settlers at "Bonnell's Landing, opposite Prairie La Crosse," opened their own roads into the interior toward the Minnesota River. The settlers at Traverse des Sioux, weary of delay in the construction of a military road from Mendota up the Minnesota Valley, built the Dodd Road from their community to St. Paul in 1853. Another road was opened from Red Wing to the Minnesota River in the summer of 1854.⁸

Great as was the reliance of the frontier on the steamboat, the pioneers were not content with the river and the unsatisfactory Wisconsin road as their sole means of contact with settlements downstream. They began to agitate for an all-Minnesota route to Dubuque and the settlements in northern Iowa. By 1854 the movement had progressed enough so that two roads were ordered laid out. One of them was to extend from Reads Landing to the Iowa line—a continuation of the military road along the Mississippi. The other was to follow an old cart trail of fur trade days from Mendota to Faribault, and thence southward by way of the valleys of the Straight and Cedar rivers to the Iowa line. A mail route over one of these roads was promised, but the contractor for the mail decided instead to open a road of his own, which passed through the Minnesota wilderness midway between the two. It was not until the following year, however, that the legislature legalized the opening of the latter road, and in the meantime it had become a well-traveled thoroughfare with thriving settlements, such as Rochester, along its route.⁹ Settlers at Mankato opened a road from their community to Fort Dodge about the same time, thus making still another route to the land

⁸ *Laws*, 1852, p. 54, 57; 1854, p. 45, 46; *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), June 30, July 28, October 20, 1852; July 6, 13, 20, 1853; April 5, 1854; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), December 9, 1852; *Weekly Minnesotian* (St. Paul), July 17, 1852; *Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), July 25, 1854.

⁹ *Laws*, 1854, p. 64, 69; 1855, p. 142; *Democrat*, July 12, 19, 1854; *Daily Minnesotian*, June 1, July 18, 1854.

available for settlers. North of the Minnesota River, roads were opened through the dense forests of the Lake Minnetonka region from the Falls of St. Anthony to Henderson, and thence west to Fort Ridgely, to which point roads also were pushed out from Mankato and Traverse des Sioux on the Minnesota River. To aid settlers on the west bank of the Mississippi River, a road was built from Minneapolis to Sauk Rapids, and, as the demands of the settlers increased, a whole network of roads materialized in the Big Woods region between the upper Mississippi and Minnesota rivers.¹⁰

The opening of the Sault Ste. Marie canal in 1855 established the importance of the Great Lakes in the scheme of communication in Minnesota and assured the growth of the settlements at the head of Lake Superior. By the end of the territorial period, that region was regarded as a primary point to which roads must be opened. Construction of the military road authorized by Congress was proceeding too slowly to suit the impatient frontiersmen, who opened roads of their own between Lake Superior and St. Paul. As settlement advanced along the upper Mississippi to Little Falls and Crow Wing, roads were explored from these points and St. Cloud around the northern end of Mille Lacs in the direction of Lake Superior. As early as 1856 a stage line was in operation between Lake Superior and St. Paul, and, during the closing years of the decade, freight and supplies were hauled in considerable volume over a road from Superior to Little Falls and St. Cloud.¹¹

The Red River, no stranger to American travelers, also beckoned to frontier businessmen. In the winter of 1858, Anson Northup hauled a little steamboat from the Missis-

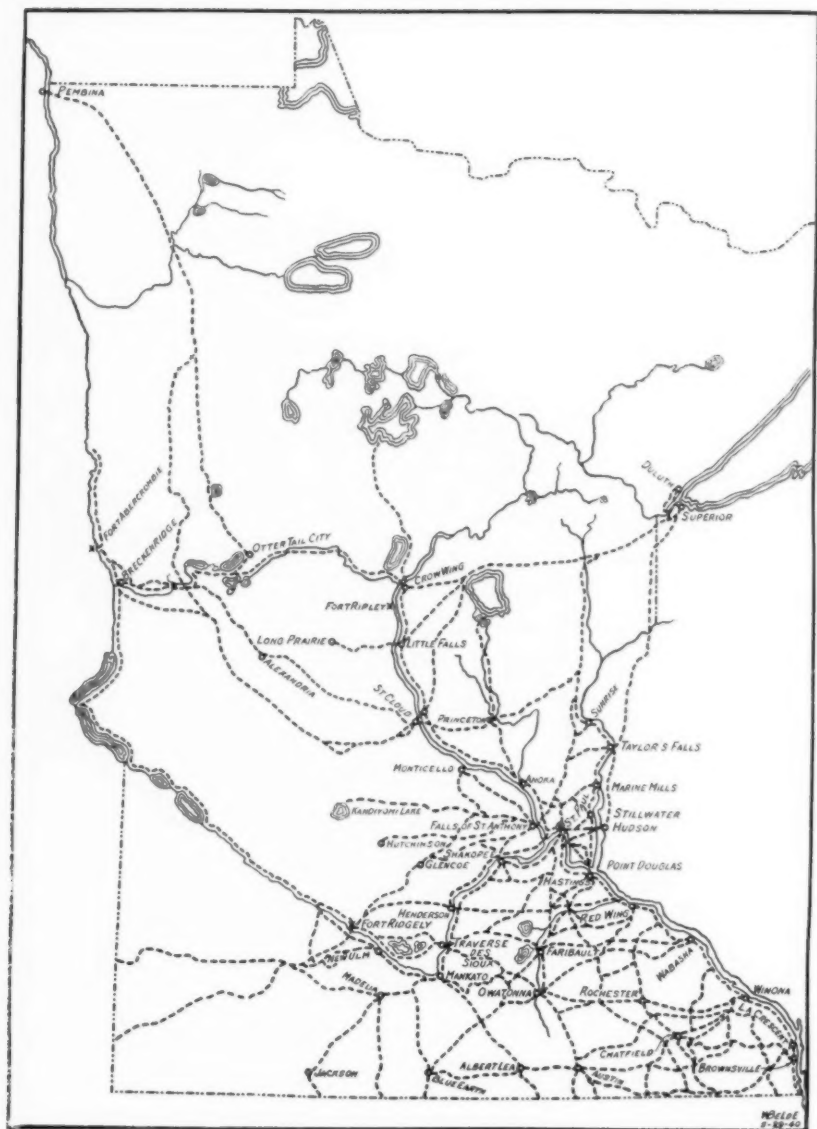
¹⁰ *Democrat*, November 17, 1852; April 5, 1854; *Pioneer*, June 9, August 18, 25, December 1, 1853; *Laws*, 1854, p. 68.

¹¹ *Laws*, 1853, p. 56; 1854, p. 43; 1855, p. 51; *St. Anthony Express*, December 1, 1855; *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), January 5, 22, June 4, November 17, 1856; George H. Primmer, "Pioneer Roads Centering at Duluth," *ante*, 16: 282-288, 293.

issippi River at Crow Wing across country on sleds to the Red River. In the spring of 1859 it was launched on this stream and christened the "Anson Northup," thereby inaugurating a romantic era of steamboating on that narrow, treacherous stream, which brought Pembina and Fort Garry close to the American market. To complete the connection between the Red River country and the Minnesota settlements, a stage company, early in the summer of 1859, opened a road through the woods from St. Cloud, along the route of the Sauk Valley trail, to Fort Abercrombie, the new frontier fort on the Red River. In the closing days of the decade, the stockaded stage stations along the line of the road were developing into such communities as Sauk Centre, Alexandria, Brandon, and Elbow Lake.¹²

Between 1858 and 1865, the rate of settlement in Minnesota lagged considerably behind that maintained during the earlier years. First among the basic causes of this situation was the panic of 1857. Its effects were felt in Minnesota late in the fall, and from that time until the end of 1859 the state was in the grip of a severe financial depression. Scores of frontier business ventures, based more on optimism than on money, failed in an almost incredibly short time. Farmers who had purchased their lands on credit saw their mortgages foreclosed and their homes sold over their heads. Real-estate speculators, relying upon a rising land market not only for profit, but for their very livelihood, found that they held title to worthless land. Throughout the state men sold out, or were sold out, and a migration from the state began. Had it not been for the accidental discovery that there was a lively market for the roots of the ginseng plant, which grew in abundance in the forests of southern Minnesota, the hardships might have become so severe as

¹² Arthur J. Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," in *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, 6:47 (October, 1931); Russell Blakeley, "Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8:48.



THE MINNESOTA ROAD SYSTEM OF 1860

to depopulate entire districts. As it was, the frontier line stood still, or, in places, even moved back. When the gloom lifted, Minnesota had first to take up the slack in its frontier line before it could hope to advance farther west.

A second basic cause for the slackening rate of settlement was the wars in which the nation and the state became involved between 1861 and 1865. With the outbreak of the Civil War, immigration into the United States from Europe almost stopped. Inasmuch as a large proportion of the immigrants belonged to the agricultural class, which naturally sought the cheap lands of the frontier, the effect upon Minnesota settlement was immediate and appreciable. Furthermore, the outbreak of the war reduced the stream of immigration into Minnesota from the East. In August, 1862, the Sioux Indians, who still lived in considerable numbers on a reservation along the Minnesota River, went on a rampage, and the ensuing Indian war, lasting for almost three years, proved to be a most severe setback to the development of the state. The unrest engendered in the minds of settlers, both on the frontier and in well-settled areas, resulted in a mass emigration from the threatened areas. Whatever settlement there was during this period took place in the older sections of the state, where there was little danger of Indian attack. Not until the Indian danger was removed was settlement on the frontier restored to normalcy.

There are indications, however, that, even without these calamities, the rate of settlement in Minnesota would have slowed down. The steamboat was important in the economic life of the state, because it provided a means of transporting supplies at low cost. It was not only isolation which prevented inland communities from growing as rapidly as those on navigable streams. Transportation by land under the best of conditions was expensive, and the poorly constructed roads of the frontier reduced pitifully the load that could be hauled on wagons or sleighs, thereby still further

increasing the cost of transportation. It was possible to haul produce or goods short distances by team for a profit, but the longer the distance to be traveled, the greater were the charges for transportation that had to be added to the cost. Eventually, such charges reached a point where people could no longer afford to buy the goods.

Such a condition prevailed on the fringes of the frontier in Minnesota at the end of the fifties. It was not unheard of, for example, for farmers to make trips of a hundred and fifty miles to such markets as Winona to dispose of their surplus wheat, and businessmen—even those of a bustling center like Mankato—sometimes had to freight their goods from Winona, especially when drought restricted navigation on the smaller streams. In 1861 it was estimated that the average Minnesota wheat farmer lived nearly eighty miles from a town on a navigable stream. During the season of grain buying, the congestion of grain wagons at the market centers was so great that the farmers frequently had to wait in line for two or three days before they could unload. Farmers who had to travel great distances realized that there was no profit in wheat growing at current prices. It was only a desperate need for cash which induced them to make the journey at all.¹³

The frontier country was united in a desire to find a cure for the barrier of distance which discouraged settlement in the rich but isolated western lands. Without navigable rivers, the one practicable means of making such lands accessible was the construction of railroads. The idea of building railroads was no new one in Minnesota, for almost as soon as the territory was organized, railroad agitation began. At one time it was suggested that rails be laid on the ice of the Mississippi River so that trains might furnish

¹³ Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*, 18-25 (New York, 1926); Arthur J. Larsen, ed., *Crusader and Feminist, Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858-1865*, 142 (St. Paul, 1934).

communication during the months when winter cut off the territory from the rest of the nation. That scheme never materialized, but the dream of railroads was kept alive throughout the territorial period. It was not until 1862, however, that the railroad came to the aid of the pioneers in their conquest of the frontier. That summer ten miles of track were laid between St. Paul and St. Anthony on the line of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. By 1865 trains were operating over two hundred and ten miles of trackage in the state. Two years later a railroad was completed to the Iowa line, making possible an all-rail connection to Chicago. By 1867 a railroad constructed westward from Winona had reached Waseca. Another, starting at Mendota and following the Minnesota River, had reached Le Sueur by 1868. From St. Paul and St. Anthony a branch line of the St. Paul and Pacific reached St. Cloud in 1866, and the construction of the main line westward from Minneapolis toward the Red River Valley began the following year. It was completed in 1871. Northward from St. Paul a railroad was built to Duluth, and the opening of this road in 1870 made feasible the construction of a great railroad westward from Duluth—the Northern Pacific. By 1872, the road was completed to the Red River at Moorhead. So rapidly did the railroad system develop that by the end of 1872 there were almost two thousand miles of road in operation in the state. By the end of the decade the railroad mileage had increased to more than three thousand, and by the end of the century that figure had more than doubled.¹⁴

The construction of railroads hastened the occupation of the frontier, for, in relation to the unsettled interior, towns along railroads assumed a position similar to that which

¹⁴ Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 328–330; message of Governor William R. Marshall, January 10, 1868, in *Minnesota, Executive Documents*, 1867, p. 24; Railroad Commissioner, *Reports*, 1872, p. 42; Railroad and Warehouse Commission, *Reports*, 1900, p. 3. For a detailed discussion of early railroad agitation in Minnesota, see Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 327–350; 2: 37–58.

river towns had held in an earlier period. Then the steamboat took settlers and supplies to the frontier. Later, when the frontier had advanced beyond the reach of steamboats, the railroads extended to, and sometimes beyond, the frontier, and the lands which had been inaccessible were readily reached by land-hungry settlers. On this new frontier, or series of frontiers, the processes of the advance of settlement were the same as those enacted during the territorial period. Wherever the frontier was located, roads had to be opened before the wilderness could be conquered. The story of the development of the trails about such a community as Alexandria during the late 1860's and early 1870's is essentially the same as the record of road building in southeastern Minnesota during the 1850's, and it was repeated in the regions farther west during the 1870's and 1880's. When the last frontier areas in northern Minnesota were settled at the close of the nineteenth century, the struggles which the pioneers went through to open roads were similar to those experienced by their earlier counterparts. In all instances the settlers were striving to open routes to markets—whether on rivers or railroads.

In 1866 St. Cloud was the northern terminus of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad and the center for a large forwarding and freighting business serving numerous small communities to the north and west. The railroads took supplies to St. Cloud, where they were reloaded into wagons and hauled over rough wagon roads into the interior. Thus, the inland communities were brought closer to civilization, and, with the establishment of new wagon roads which opened wide areas of agricultural lands to settlement, immigrants thronged in. For a hundred miles or more, merchants and businessmen turned to St. Cloud as the source for their supplies.¹⁵

¹⁵ *St. Cloud Democrat*, August 23, 1866; *St. Cloud Journal*, September 13, 27, 1866; September 5, 1867; May 28, 1868; *Sauk Centre Herald*, September 17, 1868.

Alexandria was located ninety miles from St. Cloud on the crooked stage road to Fort Abercrombie. The citizens of Alexandria knew that, if plans materialized, a railroad would eventually be built through their community, but until that time arrived they were dependent upon wagon roads. As a consequence, they were deeply interested in the improvement of their road to St. Cloud. They were well aware that the cost of transporting goods by team as compared with rail was excessive. They estimated, for example, that it cost merchants \$1.25 to transport a hundred pounds of freight by team from St. Cloud to Alexandria — three times the cost of transportation by rail. In 1868 the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company began to build its main line west from Minneapolis over a route somewhat south of Alexandria. In October, 1870, the main line reached Benson, only forty-eight miles from Alexandria. Then the ambitious citizens of Alexandria turned away from St. Cloud. Almost a year earlier they had cut out a wagon road to Benson and had made arrangements for the inauguration of stage service as soon as the railroad reached that point. Soon a stage line was operating on a daily schedule, and a prosperous freighting business was being conducted. The ties that bound the community to St. Cloud were severed, because "in these railroad days the saving of forty-five miles of staging is a great object."¹⁶

The popularity of Benson lasted less than a year, however. In the summer of the following year, the head of the railroad reached Morris, which was still closer to Alexandria. Immediately a wagon road was built to the latter point in order that the shortest route to the railroad might be utilized. Two years later the busy road to Morris had degenerated into a little-traveled country road, for construction was resumed on the St. Cloud branch of the St. Paul and Pacific, and it was extended to Melrose, even closer

¹⁶*Alexandria Post*, April 7, November 20, 1869; January 15, October 1, 15, 1870; May 27, 1871.

to Alexandria. For more than five years, Melrose was the market for Alexandria, for work on the railroad was suspended from 1873 until 1878. During the summer of 1878, however, construction was resumed, and in November of that year the railroad reached Alexandria, definitely ending the frontier character of that community's growth.¹⁷

While the people of Alexandria were so keenly interested in their own problem of communication, that town was itself the center toward which the country beyond it turned. For a decade Alexandria was the last town of any size on the wagon road to the Red River Valley, and it became the market center for the settlers in the country beyond. For several years the flour mill at Alexandria was the only one in that part of the state, and the pioneers who were building Otter Tail County settlements such as Elizabethtown, St. Olaf, Clitherall, Otter Tail City, and Fergus Falls made regular pilgrimages of forty or fifty miles to Alexandria for flour or feed. The appearance on Alexandria streets of teams from Rush Lake, near present-day Perham, however, provoked the editor of the Alexandria newspaper to exclaim: "Think of it, ye dwellers in towns and cities, who all your lives have had your barrels of flour rolled to your doors—one hundred and fifty miles to mill!" He did not comment on the fact that merchants of his own community were making trips of a hundred and eighty miles to the railroad for the goods which stocked the shelves of Alexandria stores.¹⁸

Like Alexandria, the communities on the remote frontier turned from one railroad town to another in the search for shorter routes to the railroad. The construction of the

¹⁷ *Post*, June 24, September 16, 1871; February 8, 15, 1873; August 2, November 15, 1878.

¹⁸ *Herald*, June 11, 1868; *Post*, December 2, 1868; June 26, 1869; January 21, 1871. Alta Kimber, in "The Coming of the Latter Day Saints to Otter Tail County," *ante*, 13:391, relates that settlers at Clitherall hauled their grain to Cold Spring near St. Cloud to have it ground into flour.

main line of the St. Paul and Pacific weaned the trade of some communities from Alexandria, and the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad from Duluth drew away others. By 1878 all had found outlets to the railroads over routes other than those through Alexandria, and the heavily traveled thoroughfares of the 1860's and 1870's assumed the aspects of lonely country roads.

Similar stories may be told of frontier settlement elsewhere in the state. In the prairie regions of southwestern and western Minnesota, however, the process was carried on more slowly than in the wooded central and eastern parts. A few settlers usually migrated into a prairie frontier in advance of the railroad, and it was only when a railroad had established lines of communication that such regions boomed. Communities such as Marshall, Windom, and Worthington were railroad towns, and many of them were laid out by the railroad companies themselves. The remoteness of the prairie regions from navigable waters upon which to float their products to market was one reason for their slow development. Another is the fact that building materials were lacking. Sod shanties provided shelter for man and beast, but they were temporary, and, at best, unsatisfactory. Until some economical means was devised for taking building materials to the prairies and wheat from them, settlement lagged. Wagon roads did not satisfactorily solve this problem, for distances were too great. The answer was the railroad, which became the great settlement agency of the prairies.¹⁹

Once the railroads had been built, however, the story of settlement repeated itself. Areas fifty or seventy-five miles away from a railroad became fit for occupation after the construction of roads to a railroad town. The advance guard of settlers outlined a system of wagon trails leading

¹⁹Agnes M. Larson, "The Golden Age of Lumbering in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*, 32:438 (April 15, 1933); Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer*, 55-60.

from the railroad. When the frontier was well enough developed to support a railroad, the iron horse replaced the stagecoach and the freight wagon, and wagon roads, which had held so important a place in community life, became simple country roads. Thus railroads and wagon roads complemented one another throughout the period of settlement in western Minnesota, just as rivers and roads had done earlier in the eastern part of the state.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

STEAMBOAT TRANSPORTATION ON THE RED RIVER¹

"STEAMBOAT 'round the bend!" was a cry heard not only on the Mississippi in the heyday of the river steamers. At one time it echoed up and down the muddy stretches of the Red River from Moorhead to Lake Winnipeg. Before 1859 men of Minnesota or of the Red River settlement shook their heads dubiously at the mere idea of navigating the tortuous Red River,² but in the decade of the 1870's there were no less than seventeen steamers and hundreds of flat-boats floating on its muddy waters.

The steamboat era on the Red, though scarcely two decades in length, wrote an important and colorful chapter into the history of both Minnesota and the Red River settlement which became Manitoba in 1870.³ To Minnesotans it carried a vast trade which might otherwise have followed the Selkirk settlers' route via Hudson Bay or gone over the Dawson Road from the Lake of the Woods in the footsteps of Colonel Garnet J. Wolseley's troops. To the Red River settlers it was a bridge to the mainland, marking the end of a virtual isolation. The steamboat was the answer to the pioneer's prayer for rapid, regular, and relatively cheap communication with the outer world.

For six months of the year in the 1870's, the whistle of an approaching steamboat would bring crowds hurrying down to the dock at the foot of Post Office Street in Winni-

¹ The material for this article is drawn chiefly from files of Manitoba newspapers in the Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg.

² John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-west*, 579 (Guelph, Ontario, 1882).

³ The first steamboat on the Red River was launched in 1859. The completion of the railway connection from St. Boniface to the American roads in 1878 virtually ended the rule of the steamboats, though they did not disappear from the river immediately.

peg. So eager were the citizens to claim their goods, that special police had to be appointed to prevent them from surging on board before the passengers disembarked. Out of the holds of the arriving steamers came everything from printing presses to church organs. The flour for the settlers' daily bread and the oysters for their great feasts all floated down the river from Minnesota and the industrial East.⁴ Passengers with strange faces and speaking foreign tongues crowded the rail of many a steamboat or barge, eagerly straining for a first view of their new home. And on the returning steamboats went the chief exports of a pioneer economy — furs and buffalo robes, and in 1876 the first trickle of Manitoba wheat.⁵

The settlement at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, incorporated as the city of Winnipeg in 1873, grew like a prairie weed in the 1870's. The population increased from 241 in 1871 to 7,985 in 1881. Stores, hotels, and large numbers of the inevitable saloons sprang up almost overnight. Winnipeg became the hub of a vast distributing system whose spokes reached out a thousand miles to the west, two hundred and fifty miles to the east, and four hundred miles to the north. Much of the credit for this development can be given to the steamboats from Minnesota. The people, goods, and materials that went into the building of the new province — everything from billiard tables to the "boss kitchen stove of the Province," weighing twelve hundred pounds — went down the river by steamer.⁶

⁴ *Manitoban* (Winnipeg), April 29, 1871; *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg), January 2, 1877; January 7, April 3, 1878. The daily edition of the *Free Press* is cited throughout, unless otherwise indicated. In 1877 Minnesota exported to Manitoba 31,373 barrels of flour valued at \$148,443.00. The next year flour was not among the leading Minnesota exports to Manitoba.

⁵ *Nor'-Wester* (Red River Settlement), June 15, 1861; *Free Press*, October 23, 1876; July 23, August 1, 1877.

⁶ Macoun, *Manitoba*, 680; George Bryce, *Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition*, 323 (London, 1882); *Free Press*, May 18, 1876; January 2, 1877.

The extent of the Manitoba-Minnesota trade in the decade of the 1870's can scarcely be realized without a glance at some figures. In 1876, according to a contemporary newspaper report, Minnesota sent goods to the value of \$802,400.00 into Manitoba, and forwarded over five million pounds of bonded goods via the Red River Transportation Company's steamboats. Manitoba sent to Minnesota goods, chiefly furs, valued at \$794,868.00. The Canadian province lacked \$7,532.00 to balance its trade with Minnesota, not to mention the vast amount spent by Manitobans on freight charges for goods carried by the Red River Transportation Company—a Minnesota enterprise. For the next year, the Minnesota exports to Manitoba dropped to \$768,415.00, but Manitoba lacked \$266,659.00 to balance its trade with Minnesota. In addition, Manitoba shipped \$197,361.00 worth of goods—chiefly buffalo robes, other furs, and wheat, the latter to the amount of ten thousand bushels—through Minnesota in bond.⁷

The steamboats, in the years between 1859 and 1878, played a part in the lives of all dwellers along the Red River. They grew used to the shrill screech of the steamers' whistles, and to their ungainly house-like appearance as they sailed past with stern wheels churning vigorously. Excursions by steamboat became the fashion during the summer months. Sunday schools went on picnics by steamer. The garrison from Pembina paid a good-will visit to Winnipeg in 1877, arriving on the "International." The Masons of Winnipeg went by steamboat to Emerson to found a new lodge there. The "Keewatin," a Manitoba boat, periodically held moonlight excursions with dancing on board. An unusually elaborate excursion was staged in 1877, when the "Manitoba" went to Lake Winnipeg. The steamer was decorated with poplar trees that lined the rail and wild roses that bloomed in the fire buckets. It flew American,

⁷ *Free Press*, January 2, 1877; January 7, 1878.

British, and French flags, and carried about a hundred and seventy excursionists on the trip.⁸

From very small beginnings in 1859, the steamboats, shuttling up and down the river, wove themselves into the pattern of Red River life. Credit for placing the first steamboat on the Red River must go to the vision of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce and the energy of Captain Anson Northup, a Mississippi steamboatman. Backed by an offer of two thousand dollars from the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, Captain Northup hauled overland in a very bitter winter the main parts of his boat, the "North Star," from the upper Mississippi. The boiler alone weighed eleven thousand pounds, and seventeen span of horses, thirteen yoke of oxen, and thirty men were needed to accomplish the Herculean task of transporting the outfit to Lafayette, a point on the Red River opposite the mouth of the Cheyenne. There in the spring of 1859 a hull was built, and probably sometime in May the first steamboat on the Red was launched. Bells pealed and cannon boomed when the "Anson Northup," as the boat had been named, flying an American flag at its bow and a Canadian one at its stern, sent the screech of its whistle echoing through the settlement at Fort Garry for the first time early in June, 1859.⁹

⁸ *Free Press*, July 28, 31, August 1, 12, 1876; June 18, 19, July 3, 4, 1877; August 23, September 9, 1878.

⁹ See a letter of Russell Blakeley, dated December 9, 1877, and published in the *Free Press*, December 17, 1877; Macoun, *Manitoba*, 579; *Nor'-Wester*, June 14, 1860. Blakeley was closely associated with the building of the "Anson Northup." Considerable disagreement exists as to the date of the boat's launching and first arrival at Fort Garry. May 17 and 19 and June 3 are given by different writers as the date of the launching, but most of them agree that the boat arrived at Fort Garry on June 5. Russell Blakeley, "Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 48; George Bryce, *A History of Manitoba*, 198 (Toronto, 1906); Blakeley, in *Free Press*, December 17, 1877; Manton Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 21: 289 (August, 1860); William Douglas, "Yesterdays in Manitoba," in *Free Press*, March 16, 1935; F. H. Schofield, *The Story of Manitoba*, 1: 196 (Winnipeg, 1913).

Photographs of the "Anson Northup" show a stern-wheeler, rather ungainly in appearance, and somewhat difficult to navigate, according to a *Nor'-Wester* correspondent, who commented humorously: "The boat has such an extraordinary affection for the shore that at times no amount of rudder and wheel can cure her headstrong and landward fancies." He also quoted Captain C. P. V. Lull, skipper of the "Anson Northup" in September, 1860, who characterized the boat as "nothing better than a lumbering old pine-basket, Sir, which you have to handle as gingerly as a hamper of eggs." The steamer had three decks. On top was the hurricane deck and pilothouse, which was the only cool place on the boat, according to J. J. Hargrave, a passenger at one time. The main deck contained four staterooms to accommodate ladies up to the number of twelve, and a cabin in which there were twenty-four berths separated only by curtains. The funnel ran right up from the lower deck and engine room through the main cabin, which was consequently always superheated.¹⁰

Northup, having established the "Anson Northup" on the Red River and collected his two thousand dollars for the job, declined the task of running it regularly and left it on the doorstep of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. After some delay it was taken over by J. C. Burbank and Company of St. Paul, and later by J. C. and H. C. Burbank and Company. These firms ran it intermittently until 1862. Promises of a regular ten-day or fortnightly service were never kept, as navigation conditions or lack of freight continually delayed the boat. In 1860 its owners entered into a contract with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transport of five hundred tons of freight annually from St. Paul to Fort Garry. Consequently, most of the cargo carried thereafter was earmarked for "The Honorable Company."

¹⁰ *Nor'-Wester*, September 28, May 14, 1860; Joseph J. Hargrave, *Red River*, 56, 61 (Montreal, 1871). Hargrave describes the "Pioneer," which was the "Anson Northup" with a few alterations.

The freight was taken from St. Paul to Georgetown by cart and shipped down the river from there.¹¹

At the beginning of the season of 1861, the "Anson Northup" became the "Pioneer"—"a name indicative of her position and mission." A freak accident in the following winter claimed the life of the first steamboat on the Red River. The "Pioneer" had been firmly tied up in Cook's Creek below Fort Garry for the winter of 1861-62. A sudden fall in the water caused the taut ropes to pull the steamer over and it sank in nine feet of water. Efforts to raise it proved futile.¹²

Fortunately for the future of steamboat navigation on the Red, the Burbanks had a successor to the "Pioneer," the "International," ready to be launched in the spring of 1862. This boat had a narrow escape from disaster when the ice moving downstream in the spring snapped its hawsers, and it was carried down past Georgetown until some obstacle luckily checked its course and it could be secured to the bank again. The "International" was specially designed for Red River navigation, but was rather too large to be handled comfortably on the upper reaches of the river. Its machinery and much of its materials came from the "Freighter," a Mississippi steamer that had been stuck in Big Stone Lake since an ill-fated attempt to sail it from the Mississippi via the Minnesota River to the Red in 1860. The "International" was a hundred and thirty-seven feet long and twenty-six feet wide, and it cost \$20,000.00 to build. The

¹¹ Blakeley, in *Free Press*, December 17, 1877; *Nor'-Wester*, January 28, 1860. The "Anson Northup" made eight trips in 1860, between June 1 and September 3, and a like number in 1861, between June 11 and October 26. See *Nor'-Wester*, June 14, 28, July 14, 28, September 14, 1860; June 15, July 1, 15, August 15, September 14, October 1, November 1, 1861. In 1860 the Burbanks promised a ten-day service and in 1862 a fortnightly service, according to notices in the *Nor'-Wester* for June 14, 1860, and May 28, 1862. The steamboat which arrived at Fort Garry on July 18, 1862, carried 857 packages for the Hudson's Bay Company and 205 for other consignees. This was a typical distribution of cargo. *Nor'-Wester*, July 23, 1862; September 13, 1869.

¹² *Nor'-Wester*, June 15, December 14, 1861; January 22, 1862.

Nor'-Wester waxed eloquent over the boat in describing its first triumphant arrival at Fort Garry on May 26, 1862: "It is really a grand affair. Its size and finish would make it respectable even amid the finest floating palaces of the Mississippi."¹³

Low water put the "International" out of commission for half the summer of 1862, and the same cause combined with Indian troubles in Minnesota kept it anchored under the guns of Fort Abercrombie for the next year. In this rather lame way the Burbank regime on the Red River ended. On February 5, 1864, the *Nor'-Wester* announced that the Hudson's Bay Company had bought the "International" for use in transporting the company's goods from Georgetown to Fort Garry. There were some rumors to the effect that the Hudson's Bay Company had an interest in the steamers long before 1864. Certainly it gave the Burbank line the bulk of its business, and the company had specially established a settlement at Georgetown as a convenient Minnesota terminus for the steamboats. One writer goes so far as to suggest that the Hudson's Bay Company bought the "International" because the steamboats encouraged immigration and the development of a civilization which would be detrimental to the fur trade.¹⁴

¹³ *Nor'-Wester*, May 14, 28, 1862; *Free Press*, April 3, 1877; Hargrave, *Red River*, 230; Blakeley, in *Free Press*, December 17, 1877; Bryce, *Manitoba*, 199; Bishop Alexandre A. Taché, *Sketch of the Northwest of America*, 41 (Montreal, 1869); Alexander Begg, *History of the North-west*, 2: 321 (Toronto, 1894).

¹⁴ *Nor'-Wester*, May 28, September 11, 24, 1862; June 2, August 19, 1863; February 5, 1864; Douglas, in *Free Press*, March 16, 1935. Burbank's carts were plundered by the Chippewa near Grand Forks in 1862, so he refused to run the boat the next year unless adequate troops were provided to protect the route. There is no proof that the Hudson's Bay Company was financially interested in the boats before 1864, but many believed that the company backed the enterprise from the start. See a letter from Captain William Kennedy, in the *Nor'-Wester* of July 28, 1860, in which he commends the company "for placing a steamer on the Red River of the North" and for "sending its goods by this route"; an editorial in the *Nor'-Wester* of October 29, 1860, giving credit to Burbank and Sir George Simpson, the company's governor, for the fact

The Hudson's Bay Company was not the only group which did not entirely approve of the steamboats. Bishop Alexandre A. Taché, in his *Sketch of the North-west of America*, favors the development of land rather than water transportation because the steamers injured the fish and consumed the scanty supplies of wood along the shore, while all the profits from their trade went to Americans. Harris, Whitford, and Bentley, flatboat freighters, advertised their method of transportation as the answer to Bishop Taché's complaints. And an old voyageur wrote to the editor of the *Nor'-Wester* suggesting the employment of York boats on the Fort Garry-Georgetown run to keep the money in Canadian hands.¹⁵

Even without opposition of this sort, the steamboats were having a hard time maintaining their hold on the river. The trips of the "International" were few and far between in the years from 1864 to 1870, because of low water, general restlessness after the Indian troubles, and scarcity of freight. The future of Red River transportation seemed a gloomy one. After 1870, however, three things revived the enterprise, and by 1878 there were five boats a week running regu-

"that steam-navigation has been successfully introduced" on the Red River; and an editorial in the *Nor'-Wester* for November 29, 1862, in which reference is made to "the Company's strange zeal in opening up the St. Paul route to the exclusion of the Lake Superior one." The "Anson Northup" flew its flag at half-mast when Simpson died; and when the "Pioneer" sank, his successor, Governor William MacTavish, went to Cook's Creek to superintend efforts to raise it. The company built a receiving warehouse for the "Anson Northup" at Fort Garry and maintained a clerk there to take orders, deliver goods, and collect debts for the boat. See *Nor'-Wester*, September 28, October 15, 1860; January 22, 1862. Some writers say that the Hudson's Bay Company built the "International," and that it was ostensibly owned by Norman W. Kittson, the company's St. Paul agent; others claim that it was sold to Kittson in 1864. The week-by-week accounts in the *Nor'-Wester*, however, indicate that the Burbanks owned the boat until 1864, when they sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company. See Blakeley, in *Free Press*, December 17, 1877; George N. Lamphere, "History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 10; Begg, *History of the North-west*, 2: 321; Bryce, *Manitoba*, 198.

¹⁵Taché, *Sketch of the North-west*, 41; *Nor'-Wester*, August 30, September 11, 1862.

larly to Fort Garry. The first of these revitalizers was the organization of the province of Manitoba in 1870. This step ended a period of uncertainty as to the fate of the area and signaled the start of an amazing era of development. The second was the extension in 1872 of the Northern Pacific Railroad to Moorhead, a point fairly easily reached by the steamers. And the third development was the entrance of competition when Hill, Griggs and Company of St. Paul placed the steamboat "Selkirk" on the Fort Garry run in the spring of 1871.¹⁶

The Hudson's Bay Company, probably realizing that if it could not check the development of the province it might as well share in the profits accruing from that development, at once offered the services of the "International" for the carriage of passengers and goods not belonging to the company. Hill, Griggs and Company, however, disposed of competition from the "International" and the brigades of Red River carts operating between Fort Garry and St. Paul by securing monopoly rights to bonding privileges, and it challenged the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to run a British bottom in American waters. At the same time it increased the freight rates on goods between St. Paul and Fort Garry. The charge formerly made for a hundred pounds had been from \$2.80 to \$3.75; the new company charged a straight four dollars, thus establishing a precedent of accompanying monopoly control with a rise in rates which later steamboat operators on the Red were to follow.¹⁷

By June 3, 1871, the Hudson's Bay Company had ironed out its international difficulties by putting the ownership of the "International" in the name of Norman W. Kittson, its

¹⁶ Taché, *Sketch of the North-west*, 41; *Free Press*, April 30, 1878; Macoun, *Manitoba*, 580; *Manitoban*, April 1, 29, 1871.

¹⁷ *Manitoban*, November 12, 1870; April 1, June 3, 1871; Alexander Begg and Walter R. Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 27 (Winnipeg, 1879); Bryce, *Manitoba*, 200. The old rates were from St. Cloud and the new from St. Paul to Fort Garry. On the Red River cart trade, see the *Nor'-Wester*, August 19, 1863.

St. Paul agent. Kittson also succeeded in making arrangements with the American authorities to end the bonding privilege monopoly. By boycotting the "Selkirk" in favor of the "International," the Fort Garry merchants showed their disapproval of Hill, Griggs and Company, which was suspected of having got the brief spring monopoly through influence. If they could not get a monopoly in one way, the indomitable owners of the "Selkirk" decided they would get it in another. At the opening of the 1872 season, there was a new company, the Red River Transportation Company, which was managed by Kittson and owned both the "Selkirk" and the "International." The public was given to believe that Hill, Griggs and Company, to escape the odium of the previous spring's events, had sold out to Kittson. In reality, that concern had joined forces with Kittson to found a monopoly company.¹⁸ Thus ended the first act in the drama of river rivalry.

The next three years were the "golden era" for the Red River Transportation Company, which enjoyed a complete monopoly on the Fort Garry-Moorhead run. Three more boats were added to the Kittson fleet in this period. The "Alpha" and the "Cheyenne" were devoted mainly to the freight business, while the "Dakota" joined the "Selkirk" and the "International" in the passenger and freight trade.¹⁹ Such was the vital importance of the services rendered by the steamboats, that a move by the dominion government in 1875 and 1876 to retaliate against American restrictions on British vessels by preventing American ves-

¹⁸ Bryce, *Manitoba*, 200; Begg, *History of the North-west*, 2:321; Begg and Nurse, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 33; *Manitoban*, June 3, 1871; March 25, 1872.

¹⁹ J. W. McLane, the original owner of the "Alpha," found that, as a British subject, he could not navigate his boat in American waters, so he sold it to Kittson's line. See *Free Press* (weekly), September 20, 1873. The "Cheyenne" was built in 1873 at Grand Forks and was a side-wheeler. The "Dakota" was built at Breckenridge in 1872 and was a stern-wheeler. See an article on "Steamboats on the Red River," quoted from the *St. Paul Advocate*, in the *Free Press* of April 7, 1877.

sels from carrying goods between two Canadian points was received with protests. If the American steamers were driven off the Red River, there were not sufficient Canadian boats to replace them.²⁰ Trade seemed more important than national dignity to the people of Manitoba at the time.

As early as 1873, however, there were rumblings of discontent at the high rates charged by the monopoly line. Editorials on the subject were fairly frequent in the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg. In 1874 the discontent was voiced by the Winnipeg Board of Trade, which censured the dominion government for its failure to provide adequate transportation facilities for Manitoba, and indirectly blamed the dominion for the province's \$750,000.00 bill for forty million pounds of freight. The board of trade claimed that the bill should have been at least \$300,000.00 less.²¹

The only solution seemed to be the formation of a rival company to force the rates down by competition. Accordingly, the Merchants International Steamboat Line came into being in 1874. At first it was planned as a Winnipeg enterprise, but the refusal of navigation rights in American waters had forced the organizers to include some St. Paul men. With the launching of the "Manitoba" and the "Minnesota" by the new company in the spring of 1875, the curtain rose on the second act of steamboat rivalry on the Red.²²

The ill-fated "Manitoba" ran into customs snags on its first trip and was detained at Pembina for some time. A

²⁰ *Free Press*, June 2, 1875. A petition from the Winnipeg merchants to their representatives in Parliament stated that there were not sufficient Canadian vessels to carry goods from Pembina, that the cost of transshipment would be high, and that Kittson's monopoly line could still charge just as much to take goods to Pembina as to Winnipeg, and probably would. *Free Press*, March 1, 1876.

²¹ *Free Press* (weekly), November 29, December 6, 1873; May 9, 1874. The editorials advocated the formation of a local company to offset the high rates.

²² *Free Press* (weekly), February 28, March 7, 1874; *Free Press*, April 1, 22, 1875.

letter to the editor of the *Free Press* held that Kittson's company had a finger in the trouble. The steamboat war was definitely on. Rates tumbled rapidly. One correspondent of the *Free Press* lodged a protest against racing between the rival boats on the river. The struggle was to have a more striking manifestation than that, however. On June 5, 1875, the most exciting event in the history of Red River transportation occurred. As the "Manitoba" was steaming toward Winnipeg after a fast trip of forty-seven hours from Moorhead, it was rammed amidships by the "International," and sank in shallow water. Fortunately, there was no loss of life. The *Free Press* at once took sides and held the "International" responsible for the accident. It was even rumored that the collision was deliberate. So great was the interest in the disaster that as late as June 29 the steamer "Maggie," a local boat, advertised special Dominion Day excursions to "Collision Villa" to view the half-submerged wreck. The Merchants line at once entered an action against Kittson's line for \$50,000.00 damages. Meanwhile, the "Manitoba" was raised, repaired, and in operation again by July 22—six weeks after the collision.²³

All was not yet plain sailing for the Merchants line, however. It soon collided with financial difficulties. How much Kittson's company had to do with the troubles was a matter of much speculation. On September 11, 1875, the luckless "Manitoba" was seized at Winnipeg for a \$1,700.00 debt owed by the Merchants line. About the same time the "Minnesota" was taken into custody by the sheriff at Moorhead. Soon it was reported that neither of the boats would run again that season, due to financial complications. After this announcement, rumors that the Merchants line had sold out to Kittson began to fly, though the *Free Press* denied them. An indication of the way the wind

²³ *Free Press*, May 1, 5, 7, 8, June 5, 7, 22, 29, July 13, 16, 22, 1875; Begg and Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 116.

was blowing was the raising of first-class freight rates by the Red River Transportation Company from \$2.00 to \$2.50 for the St. Paul-Winnipeg run.²⁴

On October 23, 1875, the *Free Press* finally admitted that Kittson's line had bought out the Merchants line. The actual sale of the two boats, the "Manitoba" and the "Minnesota," did not take place until the next spring, when they were disposed of by sheriff's sale. The Red River Transportation Company was the purchaser, paying \$10,444.96 for the "Manitoba" and only \$4,000.00 for the "Minnesota." Earlier Kittson had arranged to have the "Minnesota" put through a court of admiralty so that he could acquire a clear title to the boat without responsibility for any debts which the steamer contracted prior to its passing through the court. What had really led to the sale, according to one account, was that the American shareholders in the Merchants line, worried by financial difficulties, made secret overtures to Kittson and ultimately received shares in the Red River Transportation Company when the transfer came about. Most of the Winnipeg shareholders lost their investments in the company. In the spring of 1876 Winnipeg claims running into the thousands against the defunct company were settled, seventy-three cents being paid on the dollar. The creditors, however, generously allowed seventeen and a third per cent to be deducted for payment in full of wages due. As late as November, 1877, reports of suits in Manitoba courts arising out of the collapse of the Merchants line appeared in the *Free Press*.²⁵ Thus ended the second attempt to establish competition in the Red River steamboat service.

After the collapse of the Merchants line, the Red River Transportation Company continued to tighten its hold on

²⁴ Begg and Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 124; *Standard* (Winnipeg), September 4, 11, 18, 1875; *Free Press*, September 2, 20, 1875.

²⁵ *Free Press*, October 23, December 21, 1875; March 25, April 6, 21, 1876; November 8, 1877; Begg and Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 125.

Red River trade. A rather bitter feeling toward this virtual monopoly whose profits all went to St. Paul sometimes found expression in the columns of the *Free Press* and elsewhere. A writer who used the pseudonym of "Manitoba" declared that the St. Paul businessmen had established a "monopoly breeding isolation under which the trade of this Province has pined." The *Monetary Times* of Toronto, as quoted in the *Free Press*, asserted that the greatest drawback to the trade of Manitoba was the high cost of transportation to and from it. The *Times* went on to say that the cause of this situation was a steamboat monopoly on the Red River which had been able to declare a dividend of eighty per cent on its stock in 1876. "Being a St. Paul organization, the company arranged its tariff to discriminate in favor of that city, which drove Winnipeg merchants to purchase heavy goods in St. Paul," the article concluded. The Americans along the Red River were likewise disapproving of the St. Paul dominance. An excerpt from the *Moorhead Star* in the *Free Press* of May 31, 1876, spoke of the outside communication denied to the country by "a force of circumstances over which we have no control—and will have no control until there is a line of steamers on the Red River owned by, or subservient to the people along its banks." The refusal of the Red River Transportation Company to pay its county taxes for 1875 to the Grand Forks district added to the unpopularity of the company, especially since its taxes had been earmarked to keep the local school open.²⁶

The Red River Transportation Company did not go unchallenged in the years between 1875 and 1878. Continual rumors that rival lines were being formed were heard. On January 29, 1876, the *Free Press* reported that failure to get bonding privileges from the American authorities had stifled one project. A year later the formation of the

²⁶ *Free Press*, March 10, May 31, August 25, September 25, October 31, 1876; April 27, 1877.

Moorhead Transportation Company was announced, but nothing more was heard of it. T. Davidson, a famous Red River flatboatman, began the construction of a large steamer in the winter of 1875-76, but by March 16, 1876, the Kittson line had bought it for \$11,000.00. As late as 1878 the never-completed hull of Davidson's steamboat was lying at Grand Forks—a forsaken victim of competition warfare.²⁷ The number of steamers on the river increased from ten in 1875 to seventeen in 1878, with an eighteenth under construction.²⁸ But few of the new boats were international in their business dealings, and consequently they did not challenge the Kittson line very much. Flatboats were a much greater threat to the Red River Transportation Company. In 1877 there was a rumor that the United States treasury department was going to put a tax on alien flatboats trading between American points. The *Free Press* suspected that the Red River Transportation Company was putting pressure on the treasury department to tax the flatboats off the river. The steamboats already paid a tax, but the flatboat was at a disadvantage because its life was limited to one trip downstream, after which it was broken up for lumber. Consequently, if the flatboats were taxed

²⁷ *Free Press*, November 19, 1875; January 29, March 16, May 31, 1876; January 3, 1877; October 11, 1878. The *Moorhead Star* is quoted as reporting three different projects on foot to put a new line of steamers on the Red River to supply the "missing link made by the abandonment of the River by the regular [Merchants] line" and "to give this part of the country the outside communication denied it." *Free Press*, January 19, May 31, December 8, 1876.

²⁸ The ten steamboats on the Red River in 1875 were: "International" (1862), "Selkirk" (1871), "Dakota" (1872), "Alpha" (1873), "Cheyenne" (1873), "Maggie" (1873), "Prince Rupert" (1873), "Manitoba" (1875), "Minnesota" (1875), and "Swallow" (1875). See Begg and Nurse, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 144. The seven steamboats added between 1875 and 1878 were: "Keewatin" (1876), "Lady Ellen" (1877), the "baby" steamboat (1877), "Victoria" (1878), "William Robinson" (1878), "J. L. Grandin" (1878), and "White Swan" (1878). The eighteenth boat was being built for P. MacArthur of Winnipeg. *Free Press*, July 26, August 14, October 23, 1878. All these boats operated in Canadian waters; there were doubtless others operating south of the border.

like the steamers, they would pay every trip what a steamboat paid once in a lifetime.²⁹

By 1878 the clang of the railroader's hammer on the spikes of the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific Railroad was echoing from the border to St. Boniface, and that road was approaching Selkirk below Winnipeg. The rule of the steamboats was soon to be challenged by the iron horse. The steamers, ironically enough, did a thriving business bringing in the materials for the rival that was to drive them off the river. Cargo after cargo of steel rails was brought in by steamer after 1875. The momentous trip down the river of the "Selkirk" bringing in the "Countess of Dufferin," as the first locomotive in Manitoba was proudly named, received much publicity in the newspapers. Its arrival at St. Boniface on October 8, 1877, was heralded by screaming whistles and ringing bells which combined with snorts and whistles from the engine itself. Still greater excitement prevailed on December 3, 1878, when the last spike was driven for the Pembina branch connecting St. Boniface with the South by rail.³⁰

The owners of the steamboats foresaw the threat to their business and were already making arrangements for diverting the steamers from the Red to the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers. The Winnipeg and Western Transportation Company, a British concern, was formed in the spring

²⁹ The "J. L. Grandin" ran from Moorhead to Winnipeg for a short time in the spring of 1878, but later devoted itself to the grain trade on the upper Red. See *Free Press*, March 7, April 3, June 10, August 5, 1878. In 1876 half a mile of river bank at Fargo was lined with flatboats under construction, and it was estimated that ten thousand feet of lumber would be needed to build the flatboats necessary for the fall trade on the Red River. One firm planned to build two flatboats a day between August 23 and October 1, all to be loaded with flour for Winnipeg. *Free Press*, August 1, 19, 23, 1876; November 19, 1877.

³⁰ *Free Press*, September 13, October 4, 8, 9, 1877; October 9, 1878; *Free Press* (weekly), December 7, 1878. By October, 1878, the railroad had reached Pembina from the south and it was expected that steamboats would only run from that point. The Canadian Pacific Railroad was building the Pembina branch from St. Boniface to connect with the American lines.

of 1878. Its application for letters patent declared that the company contemplated carrying on a freighting and transportation business by steamboats and other vessels upon the Red, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan rivers, and upon Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Winnipegosis, and the tributaries of these rivers and lakes. In 1878 the company purchased the "Cheyenne" and the "Alpha" from the Red River Transportation Company. It planned to run a daily boat between Winnipeg and Selkirk, a semiweekly boat between Winnipeg and Portage La Prairie, and a triweekly boat between Winnipeg and Emerson. The following spring the "Manitoba" was acquired, and it was rumored that the "Minnesota" would be the next purchase.³¹ The proud fleet of the Red River Transportation Company was disintegrating. It had answered the challenge of many a rival on the river, but it could not fight the puffing monster on steel rails. Once again the steamboats took up the trek westward with the march of settlement.

During the twenty years of the steamboat era, the steamers came to play an increasingly large part in the life and development of the communities they served. It was by steamboat that Lord Dufferin, making the first visit of a governor-general to western Canada, chose to arrive in 1878. The "Minnesota" was gaily decorated for the occasion. Proceeding down the river, it met the "Manitoba," which greeted the visitor with a cannon salute and with a large sign reading "Welcome Lord Dufferin." The two

³¹ *Free Press*, September 19, 26, 1877; April 16, 25, June 8, 13, 1878; April 26, 1879. The fate of several Red River boats is described by Captain Fred A. Bill in the *Grand Forks Herald* for September 23, 1923. He records that the "Alpha," "Cheyenne," "Manitoba," and "International" were operated on the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine, and lower Red rivers until the early eighties, when the railroad caught up with them and they were dismantled. The "Minnesota" sank while crossing Lake Winnipeg on its way to the Saskatchewan River; the "Dakota" burned in midstream near Pembina in 1881; and the "Selkirk" was swept from its moorings at Grand Forks in 1884, carried downstream, and wrecked on the pier of a railroad bridge.

boats were tied together while the organ on board the "Manitoba" was requisitioned to play the national anthem and other patriotic songs. On the return trip, bonfires along the river greeted the viceregal party as it proceeded upstream to Fisher's Landing, Minnesota.³²

Members of the first circus to visit Manitoba went down the Red River by steamer in June, 1878, crowding the decks of the "J. L. Grandin." The circus came to a rather inglorious end when its manager departed hurriedly with all the money and wages, leaving the troop stranded in Winnipeg. The prevalence of the steamboats inspired a Mr. De Canop of Moorhead to build a baby steamer, twenty-one feet long and six feet wide, which cost only five hundred dollars. It was driven by a propeller wheel twenty-two inches in diameter and could run twelve miles per hour. Another novelty boat on the Red River was a floating photograph gallery. Its owner went up and down the river taking pictures of "anyone who wants to hand his likeness down to succeeding generations." The boat was once sunk by the "Minnesota," but it was bailed out and back on the job a short time later, and making "heaps of money" according to a *Free Press* correspondent.³³

Nor were the trips themselves without their novelties and diversions. Racing was a favorite sport of the steamboat crews whenever they happened to meet another steamer. A *Free Press* correspondent gives a blow-by-blow account of one exciting encounter:

It wasn't a race exactly but they—the "Selkirk" and "International"—both wanted to get a leetle ahead of the other. They left here a week ago Monday evening, the "International" having three hours start, which she kept till arrival at Pembina, where a delay, caused by the breaking of one of her cam yokes allowed the "Selkirk" to catch up; both boats left that place, nose and nose together; the "Selkirk" took the lead, and kept it till she broke a wheel arm which occasioned a stoppage for repairs, during which the "International"

³² *Free Press*, July 31, August 6, October 3, 1878.

³³ *Free Press*, June 13, 1877; April 18, June 20, October 11, 1878.

passed her. At Grand Forks, the "International" stopped, but the rival boat hadn't time. Mitchell had just placed a "rooster" on the safety valve and was standing over him with a monkey wrench to see that he kept in his place. Both boats tore up the River, stole wood from each other—and kind of hustled things generally, the "International" reaching Fisher's Landing an hour and a half ahead, one says, and 15 minutes ahead, according to the "Selkirk's" version.³⁴

The "Lady Ellen" and the "Victoria," two Manitoba boats built by the same man and almost identical in size, staged a thrilling duel between Fort Alexander and Selkirk in 1878, with the latter winning by fifteen minutes. A night race between the "Manitoba" and the "Minnesota" is described in a letter by a passenger on the latter:

The great lights of the two steamers gave a weird appearance to the scene. The pilots leaned over their pilot houses and cracked jokes with each other; and the roosters on deck crowed over each other, and the great chimneys puffed and threw out great clouds of sparks in unison, but we didn't spill any coal oil into the furnace nor break up the cabin furniture to make steam, but we forged quietly ahead, and soon left the "Manitoba" far in our wake.³⁵

If they had no races to relieve the boredom, the crews sometimes did a little hunting on the side. While the "Manitoba" was taking on wood near Pembina on one trip in 1877, members of the crew went bear chasing and captured three cubs, but did not have the courage to try an encounter with the infuriated mother bear. On another occasion the boat was stopped when an eagle was sighted, and the crew caught it and christened it "Stonewall Jackson."³⁶

Accidents, amusing, tragic, and disastrous, also prevented the trips from becoming monotonous and kept members of crews on their toes. The luckless "Manitoba" seemed specially addicted to accidents. It was involved in no fewer than three collisions, it sank once, it had a minor fire in its hold, and it lost one passenger overboard, all in the three years between 1875 and 1878. The "Manitoba" was also

³⁴ *Free Press*, June 13, 1876.

³⁵ *Free Press*, September 26, October 11, 1878.

³⁶ *Free Press*, May 15, August 22, 1877.

blessed by a visit from the stork during one trip, and Captain Alexander Griggs insisted upon following a precedent he had set on the "Selkirk" by naming the new arrival for the boat. The "Keewatin," a local Manitoba boat, had all its accidents on one trip—a man fell overboard, another tumbled into the hold and dislocated his shoulder, and a third accidentally discharged a gun, nearly blowing the head off a man on deck. The "Swallow," another British bottom, was one of the few boats actually to sink in the shallow river. It careened in a sudden squall and a dramatic rescue of its crew and passengers by a York boat ensued. Father Albert Lacombe, a pioneer missionary of Manitoba, lost his "portable chapel" in the accident, but almost three months later it was pulled ashore in a net and returned to its owner. The "Swallow" was later raised and put into operation again.³⁷ Nine drownings off steamboats were reported between 1875 and 1878. Although "man overboard" was a fairly frequent cry, it did not always indicate a tragedy. For example, an incident that occurred on the "Manitoba" during a trip in 1877 was described as follows by a *Free Press* correspondent:

The fuss was all caused by a stranger who was trying a waltz across the deck with an umbrella under his arm for a partner, and who took a round too much, and without trying waltzed off most beautifully into the river. Assistance was rendered, and after a struggle the unfortunate votary of the mazy was lugged out by one of the roustabouts belonging to the craft. Damages sustained—ruined clothes, one plug hat, umbrella, and one shoe.³⁸

Early freeze-ups sometimes caught the boats before they reached winter quarters. In 1875 only the "Interna-

³⁷ *Free Press*, June 5, 1875; May 25, June 19, 1876; May 8, June 15, November 5, 1877; May 2, 4, June 10, July 27, 1878.

³⁸ *Free Press*, August 9, November 3, 1875; May 18, June 15, September 10, 19, 1877; April 23, May 9, 1878. One of the victims was the mate of the "International." His body was conveyed to St. Boniface by the "Manitoba," which was draped in mourning and flew its flags at half-mast. The "International" was similarly draped. *Free Press*, September 11, 12, 1877.

tional" reached port in time. Such happenings often had profound effects on the community at the forks of the Red and the Assiniboine, dependent as it was on steamboat transportation. In 1873 the *Free Press* was cut to half size temporarily because its stock was frozen in at Moorhead. The same year the Christmas goods ordered by H. S. Donaldson, stationer of Winnipeg, failed to arrive until after the festive season was over.³⁹

Navigation difficulties in the shallow and twisting Red River were another bane of the steamboatmen. The most tricky bit of navigating was over Goose Rapids in Minnesota, where many a steamboat remained stuck for days. Captain Edwin Bell, one of the first skippers of the "Anson Northup," had to build a temporary dam and remove numerous boulders before he got his craft off a sandbar at these rapids in 1859. His supplies on board were too scanty for a prolonged stay there, so it was a case of get off or starve. The captain and pilot of the "International" in 1862 devised an ingenious method of navigating through Goose Rapids which the *Nor'-Wester* described as follows: "Whenever they felt the boat getting aground, they would at once throw her broadside against the current, dam up the water, and would thus get water enough to float them a bit further." The many horseshoe bends in the river also added to navigation difficulties. The *Nor'-Wester's* special correspondent describes a device used on the "Pioneer," known as the "butter-knife." It was "an ugly, heavy, crooked beam, with a sliver attached to the end, and worked on an iron spindle at the prow of the vessel, as an oar, to assist the rudders in steering."⁴⁰ Navigating through ice

³⁹ *Free Press*, November 4, 1875; *Free Press* (weekly), November 1, December 27, 1873.

⁴⁰ *Free Press*, August 12, October 9, 1874; *Nor'-Wester*, October 15, 1860; August 15, 1861; July 9, 23, 1862; Edwin Bell, "Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 94-96. Sometimes the steamers had to divide their loads or completely unload to get over the rapids.

did not faze the redoubtable steamboat captains in the least, if they were caught by an early freeze-up. On November 18, 1878, the "Lady Ellen" arrived in Winnipeg from Selkirk after breaking its way through ice from Netley Creek, some ten miles from the mouth of the Red River. Captain Ham McMicken had rigged up a machine and adjusted it to the nose of the tug, which made it look like a battering ram. "It busted the ice like a charm," commented the *Free Press*. Earlier in the same autumn, the "Lady Ellen" had had to send out men to chop a path through the ice. Its fuel gave out in bucking the ice, and members of its crew had to carry a new supply more than a mile to the boat. In desperation, they burned even the furniture. To add to the difficulties, the ice knocked a hole in the boat, and it had to cant to one side to reach its destination safely. Frequent halts for wood and water were another necessity of Red River navigation. The "Anson Northup" used nearly a cord of wood an hour, at \$1.25 a cord. In one season it was estimated that it burned from eight hundred to a thousand cords.⁴¹

Perhaps the most daring and sensational navigation feat in Red River transportation history was that performed by Captain Griggs of the "International" in 1873.

The "International" was at the time on the way to Fort Garry with a large consignment of liquors for the Company and other Winnipeg merchants, and failing to arrive at the Provincial Custom's House by midnight on the 10th, importers of the liquors she carried would have had to pay several thousands of dollars in excess of the old duties. The new tariff came into force on the 12th inst., but the 11th being a Sunday, it was necessary that the entries should be made before midnight on the 10th. Capt. Griggs on taking command, resolved to make a bold stroke to reach the goal in season, and very coolly turned the boat out of the bed of the river and made a short cut over the prairie as far as Kelleys, thereby reducing the distance very materially and gaining our Custom House close to the line in

⁴¹ *Free Press*, November 5, 18, 1878; *Nor'-Wester*, September 28, 1860; June 25, 1862.

time for the agents, who had been sent there from Winnipeg, to make the necessary entries.⁴²

Spring floods inundating the prairie in that year had made it possible for the Red River steamboats to invade the domain of the prairie schooner.

In December, 1877, gray-headed steamboat veterans and others from Minnesota met in convention at Breckenridge to arouse interest in improving navigation on the Red River. Petitions to both the Canadian and American governments had already been sent in by men on both sides of the line pleading for an appropriation to improve the river. The Manitobans were particularly interested in having some work done on St. Andrew's Rapids between Winnipeg and Selkirk, while the Minnesotans wanted some dams and possibly a lock built at Goose Rapids. In 1878 the state Republican convention at Minneapolis declared Red River improvement a national concern. Congress responded to the agitation with grants of ten thousand dollars in 1877 and thirty thousand dollars in 1878. The Canadian government also promised to spend on the Red River a part of its appropriation for river improvement.⁴³

It was time that the importance of the Red River should be recognized by federal governments, for the volume of traffic on its waters was increasing annually. It was estimated that the freight for Manitoba passing through Moorhead in 1872 amounted to five million pounds. The *Moorhead Sun* compiled more exact figures for the next three years, and reported that in 1873 the volume of freight leaped to 23,613,136 pounds; in 1874, it was 37,626,200 pounds, and in 1875 it nearly doubled to reach 76,078,680 pounds. Of course part of this amazing amount came in by means of transportation other than steamboats, but the

⁴² *Manitoban*, May 17, 1873.

⁴³ *Free Press*, August 25, 1875; January 12, October 16, 1876; January 16, 25, 27, March 2, May 30, June 28, November 23, December 15, 17, 1877; February 26, April 8, July 27, 1878.

steamers carried a large share of the trade. In the early days sixty tons of freight for one trip of the "Pioneer" was considered a record, but in the 1870's the steamboats towed barges, and consequently carried much larger cargoes. The record for a single trip went to the "Selkirk," which took down 725 tons of railway iron as well as some other cargo in June, 1876. The steel rail business in 1875 and 1876 was a major occupation of the "Selkirk." Assisted by other boats at various times, it carried a total of 14,500 tons of railway iron during the seasons of 1875 and 1876—enough to lay 160 miles of track. In 1878 the steamers also carried locomotives and flatcars on their barges. Cargoes of nitroglycerin for use in construction work were hustled through the customs and gingerly passed by the other boats when met on the river. The record for the largest cargo carried in one bottom without the aid of barges went to the "J. L. Grandin," which carried over three hundred tons on one trip when engaged in the grain business on the upper Red.⁴⁴

In 1876, the "Minnesota" carried a history-making cargo—the first shipment of Manitoba wheat. It consisted of 856 bushels at eighty cents a bushel; the freight charge to Toronto was thirty-five cents a bushel. More than ten thousand bushels of wheat were shipped up the river in 1877, when one firm alone, J. H. Ashdown and Company, shipped out 5,266 bushels of wheat.⁴⁵

The number of immigrants who entered the province of Manitoba by Red River steamboat is large, though exact figures are difficult to arrive at. Individuals had been trick-

⁴⁴ *Moorhead Sun*, quoted in *Free Press*, February 5, 1876; *Manitoban*, June 15, 1872; January 24, 1874; *Nor'-Wester*, June 15, 1861; *Free Press*, May 14, 1875; June 5, September 13, 1876; April 23, May 2, 18, June 4, 15, 26, September 28, October 11, 1878. Typical cargoes were 114 passengers and 200 tons of freight for the "Selkirk" in 1872, and 283 passengers and 365 tons of freight for the "Manitoba" on its maiden voyage in 1875.

⁴⁵ *Free Press*, October 23, 1876; November 3, 1877; January 7, 1878.

ling in all along, but the first large group to sail down the Red to new homes in Manitoba was made up of Mennonites. In 1874 in two weeks 880 Mennonites arrived on the "International" and the "Cheyenne." In 1876, with the aid of barges, the "International" carried 423 Mennonites, 118 French Canadians, and 27 Scandinavians, all on one trip. In August of that year, 1,117 Icelanders arrived on two steamboats and their barges. In the next two years, practically every boat reported some immigrants among its passengers; some boats carried as many as four hundred newcomers.⁴⁶

With increasingly large cargoes for steamboats, transportation on the Red became a lucrative business. The "Selkirk" was said to have nearly paid for itself on its first trip, and on another trip in 1876 it realized over \$30,000.00. Such enormous profits were made possible by high rates, which fluctuated with the presence or absence of competition rather than with the growth of traffic. In 1860 it cost \$6.00 per one hundred pounds to ship freight from St. Paul to Fort Garry. The rate was \$5.00 in 1861, about the same in 1862, \$4.00 in 1871, \$3.00 in 1872, and anywhere from \$1.00 to \$2.00, depending on the class of the passage, in 1875, when competition was at its height. By September 18, 1875, however, when the Merchants line was said to be in difficulties, the sudden rise of the rate for first-class freight from \$2.00 to \$2.50 foreshadowed the news of the line's collapse. In 1876 the rate went down to \$2.25, but it never again dropped to the level of the competition year — 1875.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *Free Press*, August 1, 14, 1874; May 30, August 9, 10, 16, 1876; March 5, 1877; April 22, 24, July 15, 1878. Immigration figures for Manitoba from 1872 to 1878 were: 1872, 1,400; 1873, 1,256; 1874, 2,956; 1875, 6,034; 1876, 4,912; 1877, 6,511; 1878, 4,000. *Winnipeg Daily Times*, May 24, 1879.

⁴⁷ Bryce, *Manitoba*, 200; Begg and Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 30; Nor'-Wester, June 14, November 15, 1860; May 28, 1862; *Manitoban*, April 1, 1871; April 1, 1872; *Free Press*, March 29, September

Passenger rates for the St. Paul-Fort Garry run also dropped, especially in the competition era. A passenger had to pay \$35.00 in 1860, \$30.00 in 1862, and \$29.60 in 1863. Hill, Griggs and Company in 1871 took first-class passengers on the "Selkirk" for \$28.50, and second-class for \$25.00. The Red River Transportation Company in 1872 cut the prices to \$22.00 for first-class, and \$17.00 for second-class passage. By 1875 the company was quoting rates only from Moorhead instead of from St. Paul to Winnipeg. Before 1875 first-class passage from Moorhead had cost \$11.00, and second-class was \$7.00. The advent of competition from the Merchants line pushed first- and second-class rates on this run down to \$5.00 and \$3.00 respectively—a slash of more than fifty per cent. By 1876, when the Merchants line had folded up, the passenger rates were back at the pre-1875 level—\$11.00 for first-class and \$7.00 for second-class fare. In 1877, when the Red River Transportation Company again began quoting St. Paul to Winnipeg passenger rates, they were higher than in 1872—\$25.00 for first-class, and \$19.00 for second-class passage. The fluctuations in rates seem to indicate that the protests against the monopoly of the Red River Transportation Company were well founded, justifying such comments as that of the *Guelph Herald*: "exorbitant freights charged on goods entering or leaving the Province [of Manitoba] constitute an evil which nothing short of the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway can remedy."⁴⁸

And yet, despite continual grumbling at high rates and monopoly control, the people of Winnipeg watched eagerly each spring for the first steamboat from the south, and

20, 1875; April 26, May 13, 1876; April 20, 1877; Begg, *History of the North-west*, 2: 387.

⁴⁸ *Nor'-Wester*, June 14, 1860; May 28, 1862; June 2, 1863; *Manitoban*, April 1, 1871; April 1, 1872; *Free Press*, May 1, 1875; May 2, 1876; April 25, 1877. The *Guelph Herald* is quoted in the *Free Press* of January 9, 1877.

heaved a sigh of regret when the last one left in the fall. The year 1878, by way of a last triumph before the railroad diminished the importance of the steamboats, set the record for both the earliest and the latest arrival of a steamer. The "Manitoba" steamed down the river to Winnipeg on March 22 of that year, a month and a day in advance of the previous record, set in 1877. And at the close of the season, the "Cheyenne" arrived in Winnipeg on November 23, after breaking its way through ice gorges, one a mile long. The latest previous arrival was on November 1, recorded in 1875. One of the popular indoor sports at Winnipeg in March and April was the laying of wagers on the approximate date that the first boat would reach the settlement. Some rash bettors even predicted the exact hour and the name of the boat. In 1876 the *Free Press* commented humorously the day after the first boat had whistled its arrival at the city: "The agony is over. The boat's arrivu. Bets are all settled. Some fellows will come out with shining plug hats, and a lot of others will have to wear their winter clothes all summer."⁴⁰

With the completion of the railroad to Manitoba in 1878, the importance of the steamboats declined, and interest in their activities likewise lessened. No more did the citizens race down to meet each boat, or bet their neighbors that the first steamer would arrive on May 1, at 10:00 A.M. An exciting and colorful chapter in the history of transportation in the West was closed.

MARION H. HERRIOT

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

⁴⁰ *Free Press*, November 4, 1875; March 18, April 6, 20, 26, 1876; April 20, 1877; March 6, 23, November 25, 1878.

TWO MISSIONARIES IN THE SIOUX COUNTRY

THE NARRATIVE OF SAMUEL W. POND

[The third and final installment of the Pond narrative is presented herewith, bringing to a close Samuel Pond's story of his and his brother Gideon's experiences as missionaries among the Minnesota Sioux. Earlier portions of the narrative appeared in the issues of this magazine for March and June, 1940. T. C. B.]

In recounting our various movements I have said little about our labor for the spiritual welfare of the Dakotas, for I preferred to keep these matters separate but from the time when we first began to speak their language we strove to make them understand that we came here to promote their religious interests and though we were willing to aid them in things pertaining to this life we considered things spiritual and eternal of paramount importance. But such language was new and strange to them and they were slow to understand how men could be actuated by such motives. In January 1837, after a residence of six⁷³ months in an Indian tent, I was coming down from the north in company with a young man, the first Dakota who learned to read, and as there was at that time a thaw, we were wading through the melting snow, and sometimes up to our knees in water, when my companion, who was a few steps before me, suddenly stopped and burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter.⁷⁴ Such a fit of merriment in an Indian, and under such circumstances surprized me, and I inquired the cause of his untimely mirth, when he replied "I was thinking what a fool you are to be here wading in this melting snow when you might [be] at home in a comfo[r]table house, with plenty of good food." Many a white man would no doubt, have called me a fool, but not many would have laughed so immoderately while standing in cold water up to their knees.

⁷³ Above the word "six" in the manuscript appears the pencilled correction "3."

⁷⁴ The Indian was "Walking-bell-ringer." The date of this incident is given as the fall of 1837 in Pond, *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, 122. It could not have been January, 1837, for Samuel was then in Connecticut.

The Dakotas had a general belief in the immortality of the soul, and a vague apprehension that men would be punished in another world for crimes committed in this. They also held that theft, lying, adultery, murder &c were crimes that deserved punishment so they had little to say against the doctrine of future retribution, but when we made known to [them] the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, they maintained that though it was a good religion for us, it was not for them. They however were most of them very reserved in regard to their views of religious subjects, and when we set before them the claims of the Gospel they either listened in silence, or simply remarked that it was all very good, so that it was difficult to ascertain whether they understood us but in the summer of 1837 I entered a tent where were some visitors from the upper country, and the man of the house who was a brother of the Chief, told them who I was and what I said to them about religion. I was surprised to learn that he had a clear understanding of some of the most important doctrines of Christianity and could state them in plainer language than I could have done at that time in Dakota.

That man on his death bed told me he should die trusting in Christ, and wished to be buried like a christian. He also requested me to instruct his son in christianity

We were not in a situation to hold regular religious meetings with the Indians until we were settled at Bloomington, but we talked with them, or rather talked to them on religious subjects in season and out of season whether they would hear or whether they would forbear so that there were few within our reach who were not compelled to hear how much they needed salvation, and what they must do to be saved. A few of them we believed were converted, but not many though the instructions they received from us may afterwards have borne fruits of righteousness when so many were baptized in one day by Dr. W. and Gideon.⁷⁵ Among the many children taught by my wife were two little boys, brothers. They were both bright boys and the youngest, though a wild head strong boy, was very much attached to his books and notwithstanding the ridicule of the Indians, persisted

⁷⁵ The reference is to the baptism on February 3, 1863, of 274 Sioux captives at Mankato following the suppression of the Sioux Outbreak. A great religious revival took place and the total of Sioux baptisms eventually exceeded three hundred. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 2: 250.

in carrying them with him wherever he went. He sometimes called on me at Shakopee, and commonly had a portion of the Scriptures along with him, but he was very eccentric, and we did not consider his case a very hopeful one: He was in the prison at Ma[n]kato with the men who were condemned, and some who were confined with him told me that it was through his influence more than anything else that they were first led to call upon God. He died at Rock Island, but his brother is one of the best and most influential men at Flaudreau. I ought to mention here that other missionaries labored hard for many years among the Mdewakantonwan. The Methodists expended much time and money at Kaposia and, though that mission was so badly managed that they were compelled to abandon it, they doubtless left the Indians there better acquainte[d] with doctrines of Christianity than they would have been if there had been no missionaries there. And the indefatigable and long continued labors of the Swiss missionaries and their American wives, doubtless contributed to the final success of the Gosp[e]l among the Dakotas. The sudden awakening of the men in the prison at Mankato was not among an ignorant people who had never heard the Gospel, for it had been pressed upon their attention almost daily for a long series of years. So one soweth and another reapeth. But the labor of sowing was often painfully discouraging and seemed wasted. What troubled me most was the apprehension that the mission money that I was spending here might be more profitably applied in some other field, and I endeavored to get along with as little of that money as possible. I drew nothing for my support from missionary funds until I had been here three years, and then I commenced with a salary of \$200, which was never greatly increased.

I think that a few of the Indians at Oak Grove were converted to Christ, and died trusting in Him, but I had no such hope in regard to any here at Shakopee. I was with the Indians here about five years and Mr Riggs was about as long at Traverse des Sioux, but we both seemed to labor in vain. Indeed before the outbreak in 1862 I saw very few Dakotas that I thought gave decisive evidence of piety. Dr. Williamsons views in regard to the proper qualifications for church membership differed somewhat from ours or at least Mr. Renvilles did and Dr W. thought it expedient to follow his advice. When I visited Lac qui parle the first winter the Dr was there, I found that

Mr. and Mrs Renville were already members of the church, and two of his daughters were examined for admission while I was there. In examining them the Dr addressed his question to Mr. Renvilles clerk in English, and he repeated them to Mr. R. in French who translated them into Dakota, but the girls said little except yes a[nd] no. I asked them a few questions in Dakota to which they gave such answers as their father dictated. As the clerk who was a Catholic told us privately that one of them was "very wicked," she was advised to wait a while, but did not have to wait long. She and most of the family with many others were soon gathered in to the church. Mr. Renville considered himself the head of the church formed there and perhaps there was not much arrogance in his assumption.

During one of my visits to Lac qui parle I think it was in 1838, the first Sabbath after my arrival nearly all of the Indians staid away from the meeting, to the great surprize and disappointment of the missionaries. As I was to have preached I did not know at first but some prejudice against me kept the congregation away, but the matter was explained the next morning when Mr. Riggs recieved a note from Mr. Renvill written by his clerk in which among other things he said "If you can do without me I can do without you, therefore I staid at home yesterday with the Indians whom I have converted," *Avec les Sauvages que J'ai converti* The trouble was about a spinning wheel which Mr. Renvilles women wished to borrow. Soon after receiving the note Mr. R. and I waited on Mr Renville and when Mr. Riggs began to explain or apologize Mr. Renville said "It is nothing Mr Riggs. It is nothing I forgive you" and all was smooth again. He had shown them that he could "do without" them and that was all he wanted. The next Sabbath I preached to a full congregation Mr. R. being there with the Indians "he had converted" I was left in charge of the church at Lac qui parle one year and had reason to fear in regard to most of the members of the church that there was too much truth in Mr Renvilles assertion that he had converted them himself. While I was there he selected four or five men and asked me to recieve them to the church and when I refused and asked him to postpone the matter till Dr W. returned he said "I have prepared these persons for admission to the church and if you do not admit them they will never attend your meeting again." I told the men what Mr. Renville said and when I ex-

plained to them my reasons for not receiving them to the church they were satisfied, and much to Mr R's chagrin attended meeting as before. The members of that church were not hypocrites but there was no inseparable connection between morality and their type of piety, for many of them did not know what a Christian should be. One of Mr. Renville's sons had been accused of traveling on the Sabbath on his way home from Traverse des Sioux, and I was present when he appeared before the officers of the church to give an account of himself. He seemed frank and honest and freely admitted that he had traveled on the Sabbath and that he had no excuse for doing so. The Dr. who seemed desirous of finding some excuse for him, suggested that he might have been out of provisions but he said he had plenty of food with him. Then the Dr said "you did not intend to travel when you left Traverse des Sioux" but he replied, "Yes I did intend to travel when I left the Traverse, but I expected to repent of it when I got home." The fact is Mr Renville's ideas of religion were derived chiefly from Catholics, and we could have had plenty of such converts as his at Lake Calhoun or Oak Grove if we had had a Mr. Renville to "convert" and "prepare" them.

Though we had many other things to occupy our attention we did not in the mean time neglect the study of the language for we were convinced from the first that our influence over the Indians would depend very much on the correctness & facility with which we spoke their language. When we had been here five or six years we had learned most of the words in common use. Indeed I see very few words in Dakota books now that I had not then learned and after that new ones came in slowly. But we observed that no white man among the Dakotas pronounced the words correctly or spoke the language grammatically though some of them had Indian families and had been among the Dakotas thirty or forty years and we labored hard to avoid the defects we observed in others for we wished to speak like Dakotas and not like foreigner[s.]

Among the men of the mission my brother who had a remarkable facility for mimicry succeeded the best in imitating the speech of the Indians and among the women Mrs Gavin though other female missionaries spoke the language very well.

Whatever discoveries we made in the language we communicated to other missionaries who were not so far advanced as we. We

began as soon as we came here to collect materials for a dictionary and grammar and prosecuted the work steadily from year to year with little help from others till it was completed. But the work was not accomplished until about the time I removed to Shakopee in 1848. My brother of course contributed his full share toward the work but his farming brought with it much labor and responsibility and as sedentary employments were always irksome to him the labor of writing devolved chiefly on me. When our dictionary was finished it contained as many words as were published four years afterward, and was borrowed and copied at other stations up the river. If my brother and I did not furnish more words for that dictionary than any other two persons it must have been because our capacity for learning was inferior to that of our associates or we used less diligence in studying the language than they did for we had been longest among the Indians and much more in their society than any of the other missionaries. Doubtless we learned much from our associates who were scattered all along the rivers from Red Wing to Lac qui parle. Mr Gavin my brother and I studied together one winter with Jack Frazier for a tutor and I learned some thing from the stories dictated to M Gavin by Madame La Chapell but my brother and I were pioneers and generally what was new to others was familiar to us.⁷⁶ But no one person and no two or three persons could justly claim the authorship of the Dakota dictionary. It was the joint work of many men & women each contributing to it some more and some less according to his or her ability or opportunity. And there is but *one* Dakota dictionary. I have it in manuscript and Mr Riggs had a copy of it but it is the same work and though it cost me years of labor I should be ashamed to claim the authorship of it. Though the grammar is a much small[er] work than the dictionary it was in some respects more difficult and it was a long time before I could attain even to an approximation of what a grammar should be. Other grammars were of little use to us in this work. I have some acquaintance with half a dozen other languages but the Dakota has many pe-

⁷⁶ Jack Frazer was a famous half-breed warrior and guide. In 1840 Gideon Pond wrote that studying with him during the ensuing winter would be the best opportunity that the Ponds had had to acquire the Sioux language. Gideon Pond to Greene, October 16, 1840, American Board transcripts.

cularities that are found in none of them and to discover⁷⁷ these peculiarities so as to be understood required much time and patient study. My grammar was finished about the same time as the dictionary but I was not very well satisfied with either of them for I knew they were full of imperfections.

Dr W borrowed my grammar and after examining it said to me, "I thought once that if any one prepared a Dakota grammar it would be me but after a thorough trial I am convinced it is a work I cannot do and Mr Rigg's grammar is not worth [much] so I wish to have your grammar published with the dictionary."

I did not however venture to offer Mr. Riggs my grammar for I knew that he would prefer one written by S. R. Riggs A. M. but while Mr Riggs was editing his grammar he wrote to me from New York saying "I wish you would send me your grammar immediately, for Professor Turner has pulled mine all to pieces." I hesitated about sending my grammar until he wrote to me the second time for it, and wish I had not sent it, for when it reached them they had printed a part of Mr. Rigg's grammar. The syntax is mine but somewhat altered to adapt it to what was already in type. So the grammar is a patch work, — neither his nor mine but he may claim it, for I certainly disown it.

End of Volume first

As for Dakota books, I think the supply was, most of the time more than equal to the demand. Thinking it would aid us in explaining to the Indians the origin of christianity, I wrote an abridgement of the Scripture history which was published at the expense of the Board in 184[*blank in MS.*] and prepared a catechism which G. and I published at our own expense in 184[*blank in MS.*].⁷⁸ I think the latter was little used up the river but it was a favorite with missionaries at Red Wing for they said the Indians seemed to understand it better than any other book they had. In 1841-2 at the request of the brethren at Lac qui parle my brother translated the Gospel of Luke and I that of Matthew. Gideon read his translation with Alex-

⁷⁷The word "discover" has been crossed out in the manuscript and "describe" is written in pencil above it.

⁷⁸The works referred to were published in 1842 and 1844, respectively. They are listed in James C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Siouan Languages*, 56 (Washington, 1887).

ander Faribault⁷⁹ and we compared our translations with the Greek but limited as our knowledge of that language was we were too well acquainted with it to imagine that we could make any improvement on the English translation, and we did not pretend to translate from the original for we knew there were many passages of Scripture that neither we nor any other missionary among the Dakotas could translate without the aid of the English or some other modern version. Our best trans[1]ations lost by comparison with the most ancient English translations within our reach.

While we were engaged translating Matthew and Luke, Mr Riggs prepared for pu[b]lication most of the New Testament except the Gospels and D. W. translated a considerable portion of the Old Testament

When I learned how much of the Scriptures were to be published I withheld my translation from publication, thinking there might be faulty translations enough without mine, or at least more books than the Dakotas would need before we were able to give them better ones. I intended to revise and rerevise my translation until I was better satisfied with it, and, though it was never published, I hope it was of some use, for D. W. borrowed it to read to the Indians, saying they understood it better than they did other translations. I think that when missionaries cannot report that much good seems to result from their attempts to instruct the heathen, they are apt to push book making a little too fast. They wish to have something to show as the fruit of their labors and if they cannot make converts they can make books and are tempted to undertake the translation of the Scriptures before they are competent to do it well. And if one is a little ambitious of literary fame there is a tempting field lying before him, for he has little to fear from criti[ci]sm when publishing books in a language as little known as the Dakota and it does not require a man of profound erudition to do the work so that it will pass any examination that it is likely to meet with in the literary world.

It may seem strange that no portion of Scripture translated by me was ever published, and it will be naturally i[n]ferred that I was less competent than my associates to do such work. I certainly was not com-

⁷⁹ An interesting sketch of Alexander Faribault by Grace Lee Nute appears in *Minnesota History*, 8: 177-180 (June, 1927). A Minnesota city is named for this son of Jean Baptiste Faribault.

petent to do the work as it should be done before others stepped in before me and the field was occupied Mr Riggs had not been here five years before he had, or supposed he had all the Greek of St. Paul and St. Peter translated into Dakota I of course could not compete with such translating as that and before more translations were called for my connection with the mission terminated

There has always seemed to be a greater demand for hymns than for any other Dakota literature. Mr Renville composed the first hymns sung by the Dakotas but most of the missionar[i]es and many not connected with the mission have tried their hands at hymn making. It might be a matter of doubt whether the poets among the missionaries and half breeds have been as plenty as the hymn writers, but a person who could not succeed in writing a good verse in English can write a hymn in Dakota and if there has been no Watts nor Wesley among us our worst hymns are an improvement on the Dakota war songs.

Gideons translation of Luke was published but in the second edition it appears as the work of Mr. Riggs who of course translated it from the Greek but after comparing the two translations I conclude he did not find the work very difficult while availing himself at [*sic*] the labor that Mr Farribault, my brother and myself had bestowed upon it.

For nearly twenty years after we came here we were fully determined to spend our lives with the Dakotas and it was not without the greatest reluctance and a feeling of bitter disappointment that we came to the conclusion that we must leave them. If we had been located on the Reserve as Dr. W. and Mr. Riggs were perhaps we should have remained there, but we had reasons for leaving which they had not, for while they hoped the treaty of 1850 would be of great benefit to the Indians, we, taught by past experience, believed the results of the treaty would be evil and only evil.⁸⁰

After that treaty was made we were not long in deciding what to do. We had witnessed the effects of the treaty of 1837, and had been waiting patiently for fifteen years hoping that when the twenty years expired during which the Indians were to receive annuities, they would be compelled to resume habits of industry, for when

⁸⁰ The reference is evidently to the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, which was negotiated in 1851, not 1850.

we came here we found them as a general rule an industrious energetic people, and we hoped they would be so again when they were compelled to support themselves without the aid of the Government.

So we were counting the years as they passed by hoping to see an end of the annuities, and a change for the better, but it was like waiting to see a river run by, for before the termination of the twenty years, another treaty was made no better than the first, and all our hopes of a change for the better at an end. The older Indians had gradually lost their former habits of industry or were dead, and a new generation had grown up of insolent reckless fellows, who had spent all their lives in idleness and dissipation. So long as they were scattered in little bands along Mississippi and Minnesota, they were comparatively harmless. But now they were to be all gathered together on the Reserve where they could act in concert and encourage each other in mischief. We did not anticipate anything so bad as the Massacre of the Whites in 1862, but we thought there would be serious trouble on the Reserve, and did not like to take our families among such a horde of lawless, reckless sons of Belial. At the same time we thought the prospect of our being useful on the Reserve was not sufficiently encouraging to justify the expense we must incur in removing and erecting new buildings. Mr. [Selah B.] Treat the Corresponding Secretary made us a visit, and expressed himself as fully satisfied with our reasons for leaving the mission, and, what is more, he always seemed disposed to give us all the credit to which we were entitled and doubtless more than we deserved for what we had done.⁸¹ As we never regretted coming among the Dakotas as we did so we never regretted leaving when we did.

In a pecuniary point of view it seemed safest for us to continue in the mission for we did not then know how we should succeed in supporting our families and if we were taken away suddenly we had little to leave them. We were then past our prime and having almost discarded the use of the English language for many years, we could hardly hope our preaching would prove acceptable to white people. For some years after we came to this country we had little use for the English except when transacting business at the Fort and we had little of that to do.

The language of the fur traders was French, and many of the

⁸¹ Treat was the corresponding secretary of the American Board.

Canadians could speak no other language. As we often had dealings with such persons we learned French enough to transact ordinary business with them. Mr Gavin aided us in learning to speak that language though I could read it very well and speak it some before I saw him. But it was the Dakota language that chiefly engaged our attention and we purposely avoided speaking English even in our intercourse with each other as soon as we were able to use the Dakota as a substitu[t]e for it. In fact for many years we used the Dakota so much more than we did the English that we thought in Dakota, dreamed in Dakota and when we spoke whether we intended it or not the Dakota would come first, so that I do not think we could speak the English as fluently when we were forty years old as when we were twenty.

It was not without many misgivings that we began to preach in English and if we did not succeed better than we expected we did not succeed very well. At the same time neither of us had the prestige of a collegiate or theological education. What we knew of Theology, languages &c we had not learned in colleges or theological seminar[i]es and we knew this would affect our standing with our ministerial brethren and lessen with many of our hearers our influence and authority as preachers. When we began to preach to those around us it was simply because there was no one else to preach to them and with the expectation that we should soon be superceded by others whose services were more acceptable.

If our preaching to white people did not prove pecuniarily profitable we were not disappointed nor discouraged. Most of those who composed our congregations at first were poor. They promised us little and gave us less and we had to take the lead and be at more expense than others in building churches to preach in. This was especially the case with my brother without whom it would probably have been a long time before there would have been a church erected at Bloomington. The church that he gathered there seemed at first composed of discordant materials for its members were from three or four different denominations but they acted together harmoniously as long as he was their pastor and the efforts made by the clergymen of other denominations to draw away from him those who had formerly belonged to other churches all failed of success and he had the satisfaction of seeing many new converts added to his church.

He preached there [*blank in MS.*] years. Quite as long as his health and strength were equal to the task. And though he resigned the pastorate he seemed unable to lay off the burden of responsibility connected with that office till released from it by death.

I hope the people of Bloomington will have better preache[r]s than he was but if his successors only do as well as he did they will be a people highly favored. I preached in Shakopee thirteen years and stopped as soon as I perceived that some of the congregation were dissatisfied with me and while a large majority were in favor of retaining me. It is twelve years since I stopped preaching here and it is [*blank in MS.*] years since G resigned the Pastorate at Bloomington.⁸² He has had four successors and I four.⁸³

End of the History

⁸² Samuel resigned his pastorate in 1866. After a period of four months, however, his parishioners prevailed upon him temporarily to resume his position, and he served for the year 1867. The passage suggests that Samuel completed the present narrative in 1878 or 1879, but in the fourth paragraph of the account he refers to an event of 1833 as having occurred forty-seven years previously. Gideon resigned in 1874, but continued to preach during interims between successors until his death in 1878.

⁸³ A marginal comment by the author reads: "Gideon had four successors within three years from the time he stopped preaching."

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION OF 1940

THE EIGHTEENTH state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society was held on August 10 and 11, 1940, when members of the society joined with residents of northeastern Minnesota in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of iron ore on the Mesabi Range. Two of the three sessions that made up the convention were held at Hibbing and Mountain Iron in the heart of the Mesabi country; the opening session was arranged at Garrison on Mille Lacs Lake, on the route from the Twin Cities to the range. Evidence that there is considerable interest in the history of the Mesabi country may be found in the fact that nearly a hundred people made the entire tour, and that the attendance at some sessions far exceeded that figure. More than thirty tourists left the Historical Building on the morning of August 10 in a bus chartered for the occasion, and by the time it reached Anoka on its northward course it had been joined by more than twenty private cars. Brief notes on the background of the region to be traversed were provided by the society in a series of "Glimpses of the History of the Route," distributed among the tourists upon their departure. This mimeographed guide was accompanied by a useful map, showing the location of cities and villages through which the tour would pass.

By noon of the opening day, the tour had reached Garrison, where about a hundred and ten people gathered at the Blue Goose Inn for lunch. On a large porch overlooking the wide expanse of Mille Lacs Lake, they listened to the program that constituted the opening session of the convention. Judge Julius Haycraft of Fairmont, vice-president of

the society, presided, and Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing, collaborator in the Bureau of American Ethnology, who is widely known for her studies of Indian music, presented the opening address. Some of the "Prominent Leaders among the Chippewa" encountered in the course of these studies were characterized by the speaker. Of those who lived in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, she had learned from others; many of the leaders of a later day she had known personally. In any case, Miss Densmore pointed out, it was proper to consider these Chippewa on the shores of the great lake which was home to many of them. For example, the first Chippewa character that she described, Nagonabe, was a chief of the Mille Lacs band who took a census of its members in 1849 to determine how many were entitled to annuities. By a method of his own he recorded thirty-four families and a hundred and eight individuals. The speaker next told of two eighteenth-century Chippewa — White Fisher, a chief at La Pointe who led his people in the battle of St. Croix Falls, and Flat Mouth, who was famed as a traveler and diplomat. She characterized both the elder and the younger Hole-in-the-Day as leaders who encouraged their people to learn the ways of the white man and to cultivate the soil. Among the Indians she had known, Miss Densmore listed old Wadena, for whom a Minnesota town is named, and Mejakigijig, chief of the White Earth band, both of whom were enthusiastic dancers. Two leaders of the Grand Medicine lodge at Mille Lacs were Wawiekumig and his wife Nawajibigokwe, who assisted the speaker in obtaining records of the midewiwin songs and their picture mnemonics. Another member of the lodge, Maingans, enacted part of its ceremony before members of the Anthropological Society in Washington and was heavily penalized for doing so. Miss Densmore told of obtaining records of some seventy songs from Ojibwe, a warrior of the younger Hole-in-the-Day's band,

who died at White Earth in 1911. She closed appropriately with a salute to the brave native warriors in whose country the historical society was meeting.

Among the advantages of the society's historical tours is the fact that they give one an opportunity to learn the history of a locality on the spot, said Judge Haycraft in introducing the next speaker, Mary W. Berthel, editorial assistant on the society's staff. She discussed the "Place Names of the Mille Lacs Region," giving special attention to the three counties—Mille Lacs, Crow Wing, and Aitkin—that border on the lake. Here is a section, Mrs. Berthel pointed out, that is "as rich as any part of Minnesota in the variety and interest" of its place names. Descriptive names, Indian names, personal names—reminders of explorers, traders, statesmen, politicians, settlers, miners, lumbermen, and others who have been associated with the region—were enumerated by the speaker. She noted that in the Mille Lacs region, as in other parts of the state, duplications in place names have caused much confusion, and announced that, to cope with this problem, a state geographic board, with power "to change place names in the state for the purpose of eliminating duplication," was established in 1937. Mrs. Berthel's informing paper will appear in full in a future issue of this magazine.

The trip to Hibbing that followed the Garrison meeting was broken at Grand Rapids, where the tourists were conducted through the Blandin Paper Mill as the guests of Mr. Charles K. Blandin. There on the banks of the upper Mississippi they saw in operation a large wood-pulp mill, and watched it convert logs from Minnesota's northern forests into paper upon which tomorrow's newspapers would be printed. By way of the western range towns—Cole-raine, Bovey, Calumet, Nashwauk, Keewatin—the tour then proceeded to Hibbing, the metropolis of the Mesabi country. There at 7:00 P.M. well over a hundred people

assembled in the spacious dining room of the Hotel Androy for a dinner meeting and evening session.

It opened with brief addresses of welcome by two prominent residents of Hibbing, Judge Martin J. Hughes, a local pioneer, and Mr. James G. Early of the Hibbing Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Ira C. Oehler of St. Paul, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, who presided, then told something of this organization's work over a period of ninety years and read an extract from an address on the "Mineral Regions of Lake Superior" presented before the society in 1867 by Henry M. Rice. In introducing the speakers of the evening, Mr. Oehler observed that both were experts in fields of science and members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota. He called first upon Dr. Gustav Swanson, assistant professor of entomology and economic zoology, for a paper on "Wild Life and Its Conservation in the Arrowhead Region." This area, the speaker noted in opening, "is unusually interesting to the student of animals or plants because, even though it has been greatly altered by man during the last two hundred years, the changes have been less sweeping than in other parts of our state." Through this "roadless wilderness" one can still travel by canoe and portage over "routes used a century or two ago by explorers, fur traders, and voyageurs." What is more, one can still see there many of the animals and birds that were present when La Vérendrye made his way westward through a maze of lakes and streams. Some animals, such as the woodland caribou, the wolverine, and the marten, it is true, have entirely disappeared from the region; others, like the moose, are comparatively rare. The latter, however, still persists in the Arrowhead country "in what are probably the greatest numbers in the United States." On the other hand, deer, which were not common in the region before the day of the lumberman, have gradually increased in number, and beaver are perhaps "more

abundant than they ever were under primitive conditions." Food for both is now "more plentiful and widespread than it was before logger, farmer, and forest fire removed the virgin coniferous forests." On the whole, said Dr. Swanson, wild life probably "has increased in quantity rather than decreased in the Superior region as a result of the work of the lumberman and the agriculturist," and he maintained that "certainly it has become more diversified." The speaker closed with a plea for the conservation or "wise use" of the fish, game, and fur-bearing animals of this northern wilderness, in order that future generations may enjoy "even a richer heritage of wild life than we have at present."

Mr. Oehler next introduced Dr. George A. Thiel, associate professor of geology in the university, who took as his subject "The Geological Story of the Mesabi Range." With the aid of lantern slides, Dr. Thiel gave a clear and concise picture of the background for the history of the Mesabi country, which has been so completely molded by its iron deposits. The speaker opened his discussion with the startling statement that there is no iron ore in the Mesabi Range, and then hastened to explain that the rich deposits that we associate with its name lie a few miles to the south of the actual hills. This ridge of granite, however, had its function in the geological story of iron, for, as the glaciers moved southward, the range served to protect a layer of Biwabik iron formation lying between layers of Virginia slate and Pokegama quartzite. These and other rock formations in the region tilt toward Lake Superior, an ancient structural basin. The slow action of water, seeping through the formation, said Dr. Thiel, leached out the silica and other valueless mineral matter in the Biwabik formation. Much of this was carried away, but the iron ore, which does not dissolve, stayed behind and was concentrated in ore troughs. A wide zone in the earth's crust in north-

eastern Minnesota is characterized locally by such a concentration of ore, much of which contains fifty per cent or more of iron and is therefore merchantable. Although the Mesabi iron deposits were discovered only a half century ago, geologically speaking they have existed for a very long time. Dr. Thiel's illuminating discussion brought the Hibbing session to a close.

Before leaving Hibbing on the morning of August 10, the tourists stopped to view the Mahoning-Sellers-Hull-Rust mine, a huge and colorful pit two and a half miles long and half a mile to a mile wide, from which some two hundred and sixty-four million tons of ore have been shipped since 1895. They then proceeded to Mountain Iron, the scene of the ore discovery of 1890, to participate in the jubilee program arranged to mark the fiftieth anniversary of that event. On the outskirts of the little mining town, a reception committee awaited the traveling historians, and there they joined in a parade to the Mountain Iron High School, one of the imposing structures that iron has made possible in the range communities. They were then taken on a sight-seeing tour by way of Virginia to Eveleth, where a procession of busses and cars went down into the Leonidas mine, giving the visitors an opportunity to see the enormous shovels at work and to observe open-pit mining operations at close range. Upon returning to Mountain Iron at noon, the tourists assembled in the local high school for a luncheon session, which was attended by nearly two hundred people.

Among the entertainments arranged by the local committee was a performance, during the luncheon, by a treble choir composed of school children and directed by Miss Elsa Perala. Judge Bert Fesler of Duluth, a member of the society's executive council, presided for the session that followed the luncheon. He introduced a number of those in the audience, including Miss Laura Furness of St. Paul, Governor Ramsey's granddaughter, several leaders in the

mining industry, and members of the local committee who had arranged the jubilee celebration. For brief addresses of welcome to the community and the county, the chairman called upon Mr. J. F. Muench of Mountain Iron and Mr. Otto Wieland of Duluth. The latter, who is president of the St. Louis County Historical Society, stressed the importance of the work of the state historical society, praising it not only for assembling and preserving the records relating to the past of the state and recording its story, but for encouraging local historical organizations throughout Minnesota.

On the program that followed, the opening paper was presented by Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who took as his subject "The Significance of the Iron Range in Minnesota History." He began by pointing out that during the past half century the "most colorful and most turbulent of Minnesota's many frontiers," the mining frontier, "came into being and with incredible swiftness passed away." It developed in a region that had already been exploited for its fur and timber resources, a region in which men had searched vainly for gold and copper. But the true wealth of the country that the Chippewa designated as the "Mesabi," proved to be iron, and its discovery had an important influence upon the story of Minnesota. Dr. Larsen emphasized the "transformation of a wilderness into towns and cities" that followed this discovery. Most of the range communities were "mushroom cities" that "grew up overnight" in the early 1890's, said the speaker. Such were Biwabik, Eveleth, Hibbing, Mountain Iron, and Virginia, the "Queen City" of the range. The populations of these towns, some of which grew to several thousand within a decade, were marked by a large proportion of men and of young people, and by vast numbers of foreign-born laborers, Finns, Croats, Italians, Austrians, Scandinavians, and members of

"at least thirty-seven other nationalities." Boardinghouses, saloons, houses of ill fame, and flimsy wooden shacks were common in these mining towns, many of which suffered from disastrous fires in their early years. Others, such as Eveleth and Hibbing, "had to be moved to escape being swallowed in the hungry maw of the steam shovels" when valuable ore deposits were found beneath their streets. As they passed the frontier stage and were rebuilt, the range towns "pioneered in community development," acquiring schools, parks, libraries, and recreational centers of exceptional quality.

Dr. Larsen's general interpretation of range history was followed by a paper dealing with a special phase of that story, the "Development of the Motorbus Industry on the Mesabi Range." The speaker, Mr. L. A. Rossman, editor of the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review*, was, Judge Fesler announced in introducing him, especially well qualified to deal with this topic, since he has witnessed many of the events that he described. He told how, in the spring of 1914, Andrew G. Anderson began to carry passengers between old Hibbing and the community of Alice on the present site of the village, using a large Hupmobile and charging twenty-five cents for the round trip. A few weeks later he took into partnership Carl Eric Wickman and Arvid Heed, and the latter brought a second automobile into the service. Within a year these transportation pioneers were ordering larger vehicles, and by 1918 they had formed a company and were operating eighteen busses. In 1922 Wickman and Heed withdrew, going to Duluth, where they established bus service to the Twin Cities and on the North Shore. How this business eventually developed into a motorbus system of national proportions, the Greyhound Lines, with Chicago as a center was explained by Mr. Rossman. He made the interesting observation that Minnesotans from the Mesabi country "are today found wherever

busses operate." Mr. Rossman's informing contribution to transportation history will appear in full in a future issue of this magazine.

For the final paper of the session, Judge Fesler called upon Mr. Nathan Cohen, literary and dramatic critic of the *Duluth News-Tribune*. In his discussion of "The Merritts and Their Contribution to Range History," he dealt with the actual discovery of the Mesabi iron deposits half a century ago. Into his narrative he wove many anecdotes about members of this famous family, some of whom he had known personally as friends and neighbors. In considerable detail he reviewed the story of the Merritts—brothers and nephews—of their experiences as "traders, woodsmen, explorers, and discoverers of the first ore on the Mesabi Range, and of their financial difficulties which culminated in a spectacular suit against John D. Rockefeller." He told how Lewis Merritt and his sons homesteaded at Oneota in the 1850's, how the father participated in the Vermilion gold rush, how his belief in the presence of iron in the Mesabi country inspired his sons to search for it there while engaged as surveyors and timber cruisers, how Leonidas' conviction that the ore was not in the hills but in basins finally led to its discovery at Mountain Iron on November 16, 1890. Though the Merritts now had their ore, said Mr. Cohen, the "hazardous business of mining and marketing lay ahead." Almost unlimited capital was needed to provide railroads, docks, and ships, and to begin mining operations. The Merritts proved to be better explorers than financiers; they became "involved in too many ventures" and eventually lost all their holdings. Tragically, they were never able to retrieve the empire that seemed within their grasp in 1892, when the first ore was shipped from Mountain Iron. Their name, however, said the speaker, will be forever associated with the scene of their discovery.

Following this paper, a member of the Mountain Iron Golden Jubilee Committee extended to the tourists a cordial invitation to remain in the community for the program of that and the following day. Among its features were the presentation of a pageant entitled the "Birth of the Mesabi" and the unveiling of a monument commemorating the discovery of iron. Since the society's tour came to a close with the Mountain Iron session, some of the tourists doubtless availed themselves of this opportunity. Others went to lake resorts in the vicinity, such as Birch Point Inn on Vermilion Lake, where those who traveled in the chartered bus spent the night of August 10. With a richer appreciation for the backgrounds of the Mesabi region and a deeper understanding of its role in Minnesota history, those who participated in the tour returned to the Twin Cities on Sunday, August 11.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE LINDBERGH BUST

Illi robur et aes triplex circa pectus erat.—QUINTUS
HORATIUS FLACCUS, Ode 3, Book 1

IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE to quote a Roman poet in describing the newly completed bronze bust of Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh. There was much of early Roman simplicity, honesty of purpose and method, and concern for the republic in this Cincinnatus from a Minnesota farm. Truly, to translate Horace, "triple oak and bronze walled his heart," which, though great and tender, could not be swayed by fear or favor from the course that he deemed best for America.

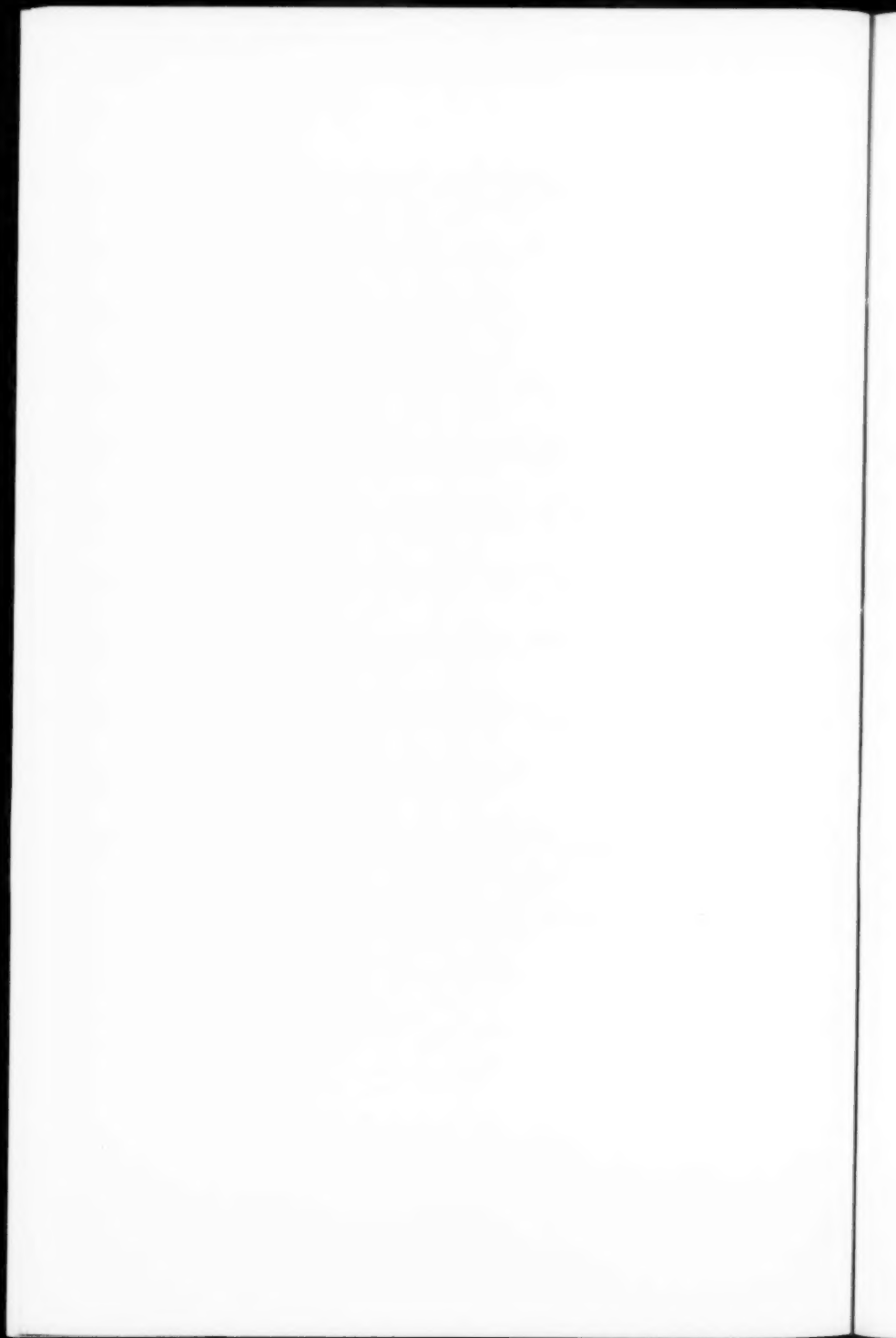
Marble figures typify Greek sculpture in the minds of most persons, and probably bronze busts, by the same token, suggest the art of Rome to the majority of moderns. The bronze, life-size bust of Lindbergh on a simple pedestal of Minnesota granite has been placed in a corridor of classic lines in the Minnesota Historical Building, where it seems to carry on into the indefinite future those Roman virtues for which he is remembered.

The sculptor is a Minnesota man, Paul Fjelde, now of New York City. He was born in Minneapolis on August 12, 1892, the son of another sculptor, Jacob Fjelde, and a music-loving mother, both of whom migrated to America from Scandinavian countries. He studied at the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts, at the State Teachers College of Valley City, North Dakota, in the studio of Lorado Taft, with the Art Students League at the Beaux Arts Institute, New York, at the Royal Academy at Copenhagen, and at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris. He has a studio in New York, and teaches sculpture, life drawing, and anatomy in Pratt Institute, Brooklyn.



CHARLES AUGUSTUS LINDBERGH

[From the clay model of the bust by Paul Fjelde.]



Mr. Fjelde has to his credit many pieces in many parts of the world. Among his works are monuments of Abraham Lincoln at Oslo, Norway, and Hillsboro, North Dakota, and of Colonel Hans Heg at Lier, Norway, and Madison, Wisconsin. He is probably at the peak of his ability in his architectural work—in the bronze spandrels on the Federal Street Building in Boston, and in decorations on the East Cambridge Savings Bank of Boston, on the Safe Deposit and Trust Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, and on other buildings. His pieces of ideal sculpture include many garden figures, such as the one in the Brookgreen Gardens in South Carolina.

His busts and heads are many, including portraits of the late T. B. Walker of Minneapolis, Dr. Hans G. Stub of St. Paul, Mr. Henry Hornbostel of Pittsburgh, Mr. Joseph P. Day of New York, Jonas Lie, late president of the National Academy, and Dr. Harry Colony of Boston. He also has made many portrait reliefs. In 1939 he designed the medals given by the Eastern Arts Association for outstanding contributions to art education.

Mr. Fjelde began work on the Lindbergh bust in the autumn of 1939. As a fellow Minnesotan of Scandinavian ancestry, he has been able to catch the typically Scandinavian elements in Lindbergh's head and countenance. It is always a difficult task for a sculptor to model only from photographs, members of the family who resemble the subject, and criticisms and suggestions of friends and relatives of the subject. Yet Mr. Fjelde has overcome this very real obstacle and has produced a bust that closely resembles the Congressman. In addition it catches the spirit of the man and enables posterity to glimpse the indomitable courage of a simple but very wise farmer, lawyer, businessman, banker, politician, author, and economist.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

THE PAUL BUNYAN TALES

Among the letters of comment received by the editor of this magazine after the publication in the March issue of Mr. Carleton C. Ames's "Paul Bunyan—Myth or Hoax?" was one from Dr. M. M. Quaife, secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. The gist of his letter was given in the June number of *Minnesota History* (*ante*, p. 178), where mention was made of an article, published on February 11, 1939, in which he reached "conclusions substantially identical" with those of Mr. Ames. Since Dr. Quaife's article appeared in a local publication of limited circulation, the *Detroit Saturday Night*, it is reprinted herewith in order to make it accessible to readers of this magazine. *Ed.*

Paul Bunyan is the hero of the lumberjacks, and most readers are familiar with the marvelous exploits which with the aid of Babe, his blue ox—42 axe handles and a plug of tobacco wide between the eyes—he was wont to perform.

In recent years there has developed a tendency to identify Paul and Babe with the Saginaw River Valley, "greatest of all lumbering streams." James Stevens began it in 1932 with his widely heralded *Saginaw Paul Bunyan*, and Dell McCormick with his *Paul Bunyan Swings His Axe* has followed in Stevens' steps, until now the association of Paul Bunyan with the Saginaw River is definitely fixed in the public mind.

Comes now Mrs. Grace S. McClure, State Librarian of Michigan, with a more remarkable story than any related by Paul's admirers. Mrs. McClure is a native of Saginaw and a keen student of current literature. She has investigated the Bunyan tales on their supposed native heath, and strangely enough she reports that the old-time lumbermen of the Saginaw region deny all knowledge of Paul and his blue ox. "Within the last few days," she relates, "I have again discussed *Paul Bunyan Swings His Axe* with one of our older citizens of Saginaw, who referred to it as 'just like those tales of Baron Munchausen.'

"He believes they may have originated in the Wisconsin camps, or even later in the camps on the Pacific Coast, where they were told by the lumberjacks as tall tales, and were fictitiously placed by them in the Saginaw Valley, which was used simply as a peg on which to hang them. His son tells me that the first he ever heard of Paul Bunyan was as late as 1915, when, while overseas in the war, he began to hear these stories which were supposed to have happened in Michigan.

"He and others who have spent their lives in the lumber industry, and who in their early days at least actively worked in the lumber camps, say they have never heard of any of these stories around any of the Michigan camps. This of course does not prevent those who were not original settlers in Saginaw from claiming they are Saginaw and Midland lumber camp stories. I have heard men talk of them thus before luncheon clubs, etc., but they were invariably those who came to Saginaw long after the lumber days, and had no direct or indirect association with that time whatsoever. Honorable W. B. Mershon, Dr. C. H. Sample, James B. Peter, and George Grant, among the older citizens, agree that Paul Bunyan tales were not told around the Saginaw camps to their knowledge. I can only say that I have heard stories of lumber camps since my very earliest childhood and Paul Bunyan and his exploits were not among those stories. My first acquaintance with them was after 1930."

So bang goes another great illusion. No one who is acquainted with Michigan will question either the intelligence or the integrity of Mrs. McClure. Her testimony discloses that Paul and Babe, the blue ox, were strangers to the Saginaw, "greatest of all lumbering streams," until they were foisted upon it by a group of story tellers of the post-lumber-camp era.

She definitely fixes the time when she first heard them as "after 1930," which centers the spotlight of this investigation upon Stevens, whose *Saginaw Paul Bunyan*, was published in 1932. In his introduction to the book, Stevens relates that after years of familiarity with the Bunyan legends as they were related in the camps of the Pacific Northwest, he longed to trace them to their native habitat. In this worshipful attitude he came to Saginaw, where he evidently fell into the hands of someone who did a swell job of spoofing. The

trustful stranger wanted information; the obliging native was glad to supply it — a comedy endlessly repeated in American history.

In the present case, we need not regret the result, for Stevens produced a fine book; but Mrs. McClure discloses that Paul Bunyan and his fabulous ox were not imported to the valley of the Saginaw until long after the day of the lumberjack had ended there. In such fashion is popular history written.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Edited with a foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, xvii, 391 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

The title of this book is misleading. It is not a history of transatlantic migration, but of migration from the British Isles and Germany, with references to other political divisions of the European continent. It is true that the history of immigration before 1860 is largely the story of the movements of population from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany; but the failure to give fuller treatment of the backgrounds of the Scandinavian and Dutch movements is explained by the untimely death of Professor Hansen.

The preparation for the treatment of the forces that produced the Völkerwanderung of the nineteenth century is a discussion of the traditions and regulations that deterred people from emigrating. It serves as an introduction to the chapters in which the author discusses in detail the forces that lurked behind the movement that culminated in "The Great Migration" in the decade preceding the War of Secession. The interplay of events on both sides of the Atlantic, including South America, is set forth in greater fullness than in any other general history of immigration. It may be that the author oversimplifies the effects of these events; but his discussion is always stimulating and suggestive.

Although the attention to colonial immigration is slight, the chapter on "The Peopling of the Colonies" is an excellent concise summary of the land and labor systems familiar to students of colonial history. A similar successful effort to deal with an elusive and difficult subject is the chapter on "The First Americanization."

For all the scholarly qualities of the book, one misses the acute penetration into the souls and minds of the humble men and women who recruited the grand army that marched to seaports at the command of forces they never fully understood. In other words, the colors of the colorful story are blurred by reliance on official and more

conventional documents that obscure the personal and psychological aspects of the immigrant invasion. Moreover, the skillful correlation of major events in American history and in world history occasionally betrays the author into assumptions that a more minute examination might have either modified or sustained.

Professor Hansen's achievement is the construction of a framework out of material collected during periods of extended research in Europe. Within this framework so substantially constructed, scholars may supply additional material pertaining to individual stocks and periods, until what the author calls the "Common Man's Utopia" becomes one of the imposing institutions of American civilization.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

The Federal Income Tax. By ROY G. BLAKEY and GLADYS C. BLAKEY. (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1940. xvii, 640 p. Tables, charts. \$7.50.)

This book promises to become the classic work in its field. Librarians will find it useful as a standard reference work, and businessmen who are worried about the trend of federal taxation will do well to consult it. Historians, too, may dip into these pages profitably. There, they will find the story of the national politics of the income tax from the Civil War to the present. The results of the political laborings in Congress are given in convenient tables of tax receipts. In preparing this book the authors have read and digested an enormous amount of material over a period of many years. The product of their joint labor makes important, if not diverting reading.

The authors trace the development of the federal income tax from the first tax of the kind, which was levied during the Civil War emergency. After the war the tax was repealed, but the idea of an income tax never died out. In the following years scarcely a session of Congress passed without the introduction of an income tax measure. Most of the support for these measures came from the South and the West, but not until 1894 were these sections successful in their efforts. In that year various pressures combined, as a result of the depression, to pass an income tax law. The opponents of the tax vociferously attacked the measure as "communistic," "socialistic," and even

"populistic." A case was rushed to the Supreme Court the next year, the law was found unconstitutional, and the country was saved for nearly two decades. This decision, plus the return of prosperity, quieted the demands for a reform in taxation. Finally, in 1909 the sixteenth amendment was submitted to the people. To the surprise of friend and foe alike the measure was adopted by the necessary states, and by 1913 the constitutional basis was laid for the income tax.

One of the merits of the book is that the story does not stop with the adoption of the income tax amendment. It was not enough to give Congress the right to tax incomes; some very real problems immediately appeared. The basic question was and is: what is income? Succeeding revenue acts have tried to answer that question, and the authors trace their story in some detail. Gradually, through accumulated experience, a body of precedent has been built up, and this accumulation of fact has provided the necessary basis for the development of political attitudes toward the income tax.

Besides the basic problem of what is income, other problems appeared. Should the tax be graduated or simply a blanket tax? What exemptions should be allowed? How shall the tax laws be administered? How shall tax evasions be prevented? In connection with this last difficulty the authors point out that the tax on undistributed profits is aimed partially at those tax evaders who form personal corporations in order to hide income, and that this proposal was not the discovery of crackpot idealists, but had been seriously discussed by economists as early as 1927.

What is the judgment of these students of the income tax concerning its value? They point out that the income tax has some bad features. It may be used unfairly by the majority to milk the minority. It is an unstable tax in that its volume fluctuates sharply with periods of prosperity and depression. Income is not always easy to define, even with the best of intentions, and the income tax is difficult to determine and complex to administer. Nevertheless, the authors conclude that "Because of its appeal to the sense of justice, if properly planned and administered, no important tax is better qualified than the income tax to minimize social friction and promote social cooperation. That is, no other important tax is more in harmony with the ideals of democracy."

Two minor criticisms may be made, which do not detract from the general excellence of the book. First, if the authors had been able to get into the papers of individuals and corporations which opposed income taxes, they might have better illuminated the attitudes of conservative groups toward the tax. Were there other reasons, besides stinginess, which led these groups to oppose the tax? Second, it is a pity that the authors did not bring into sharper focus the various forces behind the political play in Congress.

RODNEY C. LOEHR

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Westward from Vinland: An Account of Norse Discoveries and Explorations in America, 982-1362. By HJALMAR R. HOLAND. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940. x, 354 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

Since 1907, when Mr. Holand discovered the Kensington stone, he has constituted himself its *alma parens*. In 1932 he summed up the results of a quarter century of activity in his first book on the subject, *The Kensington Stone*. "Since then," his present preface states, "so much new and confirmatory evidence has come to light, that the present volume is not merely a second edition of the former, but a new book."

This statement obviously determines the reviewer's task to be that of assessing the new material presented for the reader's consideration. Part I of the volume presents a rather detailed recital of the Norse activities recounted in the Vinland sagas. Save for certain items to be presently noted, this is but a re-threshing of ancient straw, which calls for no particular comment here, save the general observation that in a field where such scholars as Professor Channing tread warily, Mr. Holand proceeds with all the certitude of a man traversing his own back yard.

The "new and confirmatory evidence" with which the author justifies the volume, proves upon examination to be scanty in quantity and questionable or worse in quality. Most of it is not even new, save in the sense that Mr. Holand has not heretofore exploited it. To itemize, it includes a sword found in Minnesota in 1911; an ax found in Nova Scotia "about the year 1880"; another found in

Michigan about the same year, but "possibly in 1878"; some new "mooring stones" found in Minnesota since 1932; and a sword and certain other pieces of rusted metal found in northern Ontario in 1930 or 1931.

To discuss in any detail the claims advanced for these several "finds" is obviously impossible within the space accorded a single book review. In 1934 the present reviewer examined the case for the Kensington stone in an article on "The Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," which appeared in the *New England Quarterly*, 7: 614-645 (December, 1934). It is sufficient here to say that nothing is adduced in the present volume to alter the conviction then expressed that the elaborate historical thesis which Mr. Holand has spun in the effort to rationalize the inscription is too trifling to merit serious scholarly consideration. Misuse of the established methods of sane historical research is habitual. No bounds are set to the fantasies evoked by a vivid imagination, which are presented with all the gravity of established fact. Professor Laurence M. Larson's observation, *ante*, 17: 24, that "absence of information . . . does not disturb our friends of the Kensington cult" succinctly characterizes the historical procedure of its leader. The Nova Scotia ax, for example, bears a number of "mystic marks," which "may be secret runes" (p. 41), and it is repeatedly advertised as an eleventh-century Norse ax; this despite the fact that Professor A. B. Greninger, who seems to be the only "expert" yet consulted, expressly affirms that he is unable to say whether it was made a hundred or a thousand years ago. (In passing, it may be noted that in Mr. Holand's vocabulary the words "strange" and "mystic" are sadly overworked.) The "mooring stones," paraded so eagerly, afford even slimmer indication of any Norse connection, and the evidence for the one identified at Kensington (p. 209-211 and plate 15) would not induce a Georgia mob to lynch a Negro rapist; yet to Mr. Holand there can be "little doubt" of its identification. The Ontario "find" consists of certain pieces of rusted metal whose origin is wholly problematical, yet they enable him to invent (p. 70-72) an expedition covering thousands of miles of territory, culminating in a precise and tear-jerking description of an imaginary funeral of a wholly hypothetical Norse warrior.

The Kensington stone is a physical fact; the origin and validity of its inscription is the scholarly issue it raises. The first European

scholars to whom it was submitted reported forty years ago that it was a "'clumsy fraud' perpetrated by some Swedish or Norwegian immigrant who had lived so long in America that he wrote a 'mixture of English and Norwegian'" (p. 99). In opposition to this understandable verdict, Mr. Holand has devoted over thirty years to concocting an elaborate and remarkably self-contradictory theory of extensive and heretofore undreamed of Norse travels in interior America. Since no one knows, or apparently ever has known, where Vinland really was, and since the author's ideas are restrained by no submission to humdrum documentary substantiation, he is wholly free to build, and at pleasure revamp, his entertaining theory, which is itself fast assuming the dimensions of a saga. Whether to prefer it to the simpler one advanced by the foremost Scandinavian scholars and by such American authorities as Flom and Larson, each reader must, of course, decide for himself.

Before doing so, he may profitably consider this feat of historical legerdemain, nonchalantly performed by the champion of the Kensington myth. In 1932 Mr. Holand believed Vinland was on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and, in *The Kensington Stone*, p. 84-87, Paul Knutson, his synthetic hero, was made to spend several years minutely searching the entire adjacent region for the lost colonists. Now, Mr. Holand is certain that Vinland was on Nantucket Sound (p. 49, 50, figure 6, p. 141). It necessarily follows that *Westward from Vinland* means "westward from Nantucket Sound"; and since poor Paul is still left gumshoeing around the Gulf of St. Lawrence for years on end (p. 139) before setting out for Minnesota, it further follows that he never saw Vinland; he therefore never traveled "westward from Vinland"; the Kensington rune-chiseler of 1362 was equally ignorant when he stated that his party was "on [an] exploration-journey from Vinland" (p. 101); and the tourists, instead of returning from Minnesota to Vinland, as Mr. Holand's exposition represents, were really headed for a place a thousand miles removed from that delectable destination. In identifying Vinland with Nantucket Sound, Mr. Holand himself topples, at a single puff, the entire labored argument which supplies the title for his book.

M. M. QUAIFFE

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

The First Ninety Years: An Historical Sketch of the Burlington Railroad, 1850-1940. By R. C. OVERTON. (Chicago, 1940. 40 p. Illustrations.)

In commemorating the ninetieth anniversary of its modest beginnings, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad presents this admirable brief summary of its own history. The pamphlet is the work of a trained historian, who gives his readers a clear and concrete, if necessarily compressed, narrative.

Mr. Overton plunges into his subject, tracing the construction and acquisition of the more significant portions of some eleven thousand miles of road in fourteen states. Nearly a third of his space is very properly devoted to reporting the efforts of the Burlington and its subsidiaries to people the prairies; between them they received and ultimately disposed of more than three million acres in northern Missouri, southern Iowa, and particularly, eastern Nebraska. The changing position of the railroad in a day of automobile, truck, bus, and airplane transit is recognized without rancor. The technical improvements which make the modern railroad possible are briefly sketched.

The chief province of the Burlington, of course, lies in the corn belt, and it is to that area that the author has naturally given the most attention. The Burlington has served Minnesota primarily as a highway to other regions; certainly it has never filled as large a place in the life of the state as it has, say, in that of Nebraska. Indeed the extension to the Twin Cities in 1886, to tap the expanding freight of the Northwest, was something of an afterthought. It led naturally, after fifteen years, to the acquisition of control by the Hill-Morgan interests.

One must read the pamphlet with considerable care to find a hint that the lands which the railroad sold, or the services which it rendered, gave less than complete satisfaction to any of the immigrants who were induced to settle in Iowa or Nebraska. The reader is not informed that anyone objected to the deal which gave control of the Burlington to the Hill-Morgan combination. It is hardly surprising that the road is cast in the role of an almost unbelievably good neighbor, and that no less than five of the Burlington "Zephyrs" are here pictured.

But there are other well-chosen illustrations, drawn from various periods of the company's history. The Minnesota Historical Society contributes an interesting view of St. Paul and the Chicago, Burlington and Northern tracks in 1886. The reader has no excuse for losing himself in a maze of branch lines, subsidiary corporations, and land grants, for the narrative is accompanied—as all railroad histories should be—by a well-chosen collection of maps. The maps and illustrations alone would have justified the issuance of the pamphlet; as it is, they add materially to the value of Mr. Overton's clearly written narrative. The historical fraternity has reason to look forward to the promised publication of the author's volume on the land and colonization work of the Burlington.

FRANK H. HECK

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
OXFORD, OHIO

Wisconsin, A Story of Progress. By WILLIAM FRANCIS RANEY, Ph.D., professor of history, Lawrence College. (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. xvii, 554 p. Illustrations, maps. \$5.35.)

State history seems to maintain its status remarkably well. One might suppose that an increasing nationalism and an incipient internationalism would obscure and minimize state and regional studies. Fortunately writers and students see no antithesis between state histories and wider studies. In fact, they probably see that a careful knowledge of the divisions is necessary for any penetrating insight into the realities of the more inclusive units.

Professor Raney of Lawrence College has contributed this study of Wisconsin to the series edited by Dean Carl Wittke of Oberlin College. The series also includes histories of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, California, and West Virginia, with others in preparation.

This history of Wisconsin is divided into twenty-three chapters, arranged in a kind of chronological sequence. The French and British periods, the frontier days, the territorial period, early statehood, and the Civil War furnish easy chronological mileposts. Then follow chapters on railroads, lumbering, agriculture, and agrarianism. Republican rule, La Follette, and politics again provide a kind of chronological order, but the last eight chapters return to the topical

method. Appendixes furnish a list of governors, election returns, and population statistics. A total of twenty-five maps, graphs, and pictures add to the utility and attractiveness of the volume. The bibliographical references and comments are rather full and indicate the industry and scholarship of the author.

Many periods, episodes, movements, and men are well described. The growth in population, the lumbering industry, agriculture, and education are worthily treated. On the other hand, many topics are described briefly or merely mentioned. The limitations of space, the author's preferences, and available sources doubtless explain these compressions.

Some exceptions may be registered. A greater familiarity with the Indian factory system would have prevented three or four errors on page 67. The treatment of La Follette is objective and disinterested but not very penetrating or illuminating. The argument (p. 320, 321) that the voters of Wisconsin were high-pressured into voting prohibition is not very convincing. The book describes but does not explain; it records but does not illuminate; it tells of events but does not vitalize them. One closes it with a feeling that it is somewhat catalogic and unsynthesized. It will perhaps serve useful purposes and popularize some aspects of Wisconsin history, but it is not likely to be of great use to the careful student nor the future historian.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Iowa through the Years. By CYRENUS COLE. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1940. 547 p. \$3.00.)

This series of 108 "selected shorts" comprises the first volume of a proposed centennial history of the state of Iowa, and, says the editor, "presents a general history of the Commonwealth from the era of discovery and exploration down to the nineteen thirties." A careful reading of the narrative leaves one with the impression that the book was written to please, in that history is simplified, style "written down," and chapter captions on the juvenile level. "A Million Acres Dumped in a River," and "What Kirkwood Said to Lincoln," seems straining for effect, especially after one reads the ensuing discussions. There seems little in the volume which is new, in that it sheds

additional light upon the pageant of the Hawkeye State. Much of the material already has been published in the various journals and series of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and some of it has appeared in the standard histories of the state. Written by a Republican politician, the interpretation of the 1920's and early 1930's is tinged with a particularistic philosophy and lacks the objectivity of sound history. Footnotes and bibliographies are omitted, although such devices seem worthy of a place in a substantial and apparently, official, history. There is an excellent index.

There is little in the volume which illustrates the interplay of common interests between Iowa and Minnesota. The latter commonwealth is referred to only indirectly by mention of Minnesota Indians and troops, and by allusions to Minneapolis railroads. Certain curious statements lead one to wonder just what the author had in mind. Shakespearian scholars, for example, would puzzle over the statement that "*The Tempest* is a literary prelude to the New World" (p. 17). And the reviewer is struck by the inconsistent capitalization of "New World" (p. 15, 16, 17). Such errors, of course, are minor.

In conclusion, then, *Iowa through the Years* is a pleasantly written narrative recounting, in fragmentary fashion, certain phases of Iowa history, most of which have been described in more detail elsewhere. The political point of view is that of the author; its maturity is doubtful. Probably the book never can be utilized by scholars as an authoritative piece of objective research. It does, however, make amusing reading for the general public whose taste runs toward diluted history.

PHILIP D. JORDAN

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
OXFORD, OHIO

Minneapolis: The Story of a City. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, 1940. 94 p.).

This is a pleasant telling of a familiar tale. A product of the Minnesota Writers' Project sponsored jointly by the Minnesota department of education and the Minneapolis board of education, it was not meant to offer any new historical analysis or interpretation

but rather to make briefly and conveniently available the established facts of Minneapolis' history. This it does well, in good literary style.

Although in general outline the narrative is well known to any student of local history, it is here made fresh and vivid with concrete phrase, incident, and quotation from manuscript and newspaper sources. In its preparation effective use has been made of the Minnesota newspaper annals, a collection of thousands of items copied by members of the project from Minnesota newspapers. The story is unencumbered by source citations in its published form, but copies of the original manuscript with its "several hundred footnotes" are on file with the Minnesota Historical Society and the Minnesota Writers' Project. Sixteen well-chosen illustrations and a bibliography of impressive length accompany the text.

Because the tale is well told, it is unfortunate that it lingers so long in the period of beginnings. The first four chapters, which carry it to about 1870, deal with the early exploration of the site, the rise and decline of Fort Snelling, the settlement of St. Anthony, and the lusty youth of Minneapolis. One final chapter, fourteen pages long, in which "Minneapolis Reaches Maturity," is made to suffice for all the events of the last seven decades, which it covers with such Paul Bunyan strides that the reader gets only a patchy view along the way. Surely so short a story of Minneapolis as this should have included less of the history of Fort Snelling in order to tell more of the later social and economic developments that have made the city a regional capital in finance, industry, commerce, and culture.

HELEN CLAPESATTLE

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MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

DR. ARTHUR J. LARSEN ("Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota") is secretary and superintendent of the society. The present article is one of a group on frontier transportation in the Northwest that he has published in this and other periodicals. Miss Marion H. Herriot ("Steamboat Transportation on the Red River") was graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1939, and she is now engaged in graduate work in history in the University of Toronto. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen ("Two Missionaries in the Sioux Country") is dean of the graduate school in the University of Minnesota. Miss Bertha L. Heilbron ("The State Historical Convention of 1940") is assistant editor of this magazine. Dr. Grace Lee Nute ("The Lindbergh Bust") is curator of manuscripts on the society's staff. The reviewers include two members of the history faculty in the University of Minnesota, Professor George M. Stephenson and Dr. Rodney C. Loehr; Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library; Dr. Edgar B. Wesley, professor of education in the University of Minnesota; Dr. Frank H. Heck and Dr. Philip D. Jordan, both of the history faculty in Miami University at Oxford, Ohio; and Miss Helen Clapesattle of the University of Minnesota Press.

The Minnesota Historical Society, writes R. H. Markham in the *Christian Science Monitor* for May 6, might be called "Minnesota's family album." Of the society's building he writes: "As an edifice, it is attractive and dignified; as an institution, fascinating. It is better than any western movie, because it is real." Mr. Markham's comments on the historical society occur in an article on the "Achievements of St. Paul." Several articles on special features of Minnesota's capital city appear in the same issue of the *Monitor*.

More than seven thousand individuals in 265 groups visited the society's museum during the second quarter of 1940. This is the largest group attendance ever recorded in the museum for a single

quarter. Included were twenty-five groups from Wisconsin and one each from Iowa and South Dakota.

A total of 449 readers were served in the society's manuscript division during the second quarter of 1940. Of these, 235 used the census schedules in a search for information needed for naturalization, retirement, insurance, old-age assistance, and the like.

One life member — Mrs. George M. Kenyon of St. Paul — and twenty annual members joined the society during the quarter ending June 30. The names of the latter follow: Dr. Donald C. Balfour of Rochester, Annie I. Carpenter of St. Paul, John Dahl of Neillsville, June S. Day of St. Paul, Keith Denis of Port Arthur, Ontario, Lee Grove of St. Paul, Everett R. Hames of Kalamazoo, Michigan, Mrs. Alice K. Hazelton of Aitkin, J. H. Johnson of Winona, Mrs. Lewis P. Jones of Stillwater, Thomas E. Keys of Rochester, Dr. and Mrs. Harry C. Lawton of St. Paul, Dr. H. S. Lippman of St. Paul, Helen McCann of St. Paul, George W. Morgan of St. Paul, Ferdinand P. Schultz of Minneapolis, Lucien D. Sinclair of St. Paul, R. E. Slaughter of Yakima, Washington, and Dr. Maurice N. Walsh of Rochester.

Recently enrolled as institutional members of the society are the Federal Writers' Project of Minneapolis and the Todd County Historical Society, with headquarters at Clarissa.

The society lost six active members by death during the three months from April 1 to June 30 — Nathaniel P. Langford of St. Paul on April 18, Engebret H. Hobe of St. Paul on April 19, Walter C. Leach of Minneapolis on April 22, Mrs. Edwin W. Osborne of St. Paul on May 21, Arthur McGinnis of St. Paul on May 29, and Dr. Arthur S. Hamilton of Minneapolis on June 2. A corresponding member, Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, secretary of the State Historical Society of Iowa, died on April 7.

The superintendent and the curator of manuscripts attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Omaha from May 1 to 4. At this meeting Miss Nute was named chairman of the Alvord Memorial Commission, which has for its purpose the publication of historical documents.

Since June, 1938, the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton has issued several copies of each edition on a good grade of book paper. One of these is sent each week to the Minnesota Historical Society and another to the Blue Earth County Historical Society, while a third is kept in the publication office. Here is proof, according to Dr. Lewis Beeson, acting head of the Minnesota Historical Society's newspaper division, of at least one Minnesota editor's "realization that the historical and other values of a newspaper make its preservation desirable."

The valuable collection of St. Paul and Minnesota pioneer scenes by Robert Ormsby Sweeny, recently acquired by the society, is described in an illustrated article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 21.

The superintendent spoke on "A Laboratory for the Social Studies" before a social studies group at Hamline University on April 3, on "Community Memories" before the Carver County Historical Society at Mayer on April 12, on "Prairie du Chien and the Northwest" at Prairie du Chien on May 18, on "New Englanders in Minnesota" before the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Minnesota at Minneapolis on May 21, and on "Donnelly's Minnesota" before the Donnelly Memorial Association at Nininger on June 9. The curator of manuscripts spoke on the care and preservation of archives at a meeting of the society's executive council on April 8, on the problems involved in her work before the business and professional women's club of the Minneapolis YWCA on April 15, on "Pioneer Women" before the annual meeting of the Fourth District Federation of Women's Clubs in St. Paul on April 23, on the same subject before the nurses of the Gillette State Hospital for Crippled Children in St. Paul on May 7, on the "Lure of Manuscripts" before the Rice County Historical Society in Northfield on May 16, and on "Fur-trading Posts in Minnesota" before the Minneapolis Archaeological Society in Minneapolis on June 5. The curator of the museum spoke on "Community Backgrounds" before a high school convocation at Houston on May 14, and he read a paper entitled "Rebuilding the Grand Portage Stockade: Some Problems in Historical Reconstruction" before the history section of the American Association of Museums at Detroit, Michigan, on May 22.

The society's copy of the *Minnesota House Journal* for 1887 is imperfect, and an effort is being made to locate a perfect copy. Any member who owns a copy of the *Journal* for that year will perform a service to the society by adding the volume to the library.

ACCESSIONS

A wealth of material on the Rollingstone colony in Winona County is to be found in the diary of Robert Pike, Jr., covering the years from 1851 to 1858, received from Mrs. J. H. Towey of Rochester. Included in the diary are the articles of agreement of the "Rolling Stone Industrial Association" of 1854, a register of the school that Pike taught in the colony, and daily weather reports. The articles of organization, drawn up in 1860, and various resolutions relating to the Commonwealth Homestead Association, which was to promote a settlement in Dakota Territory on the "probable route of the Central Pacific Railroad," are among other items of interest contained in this diary.

Sixteen volumes of the diaries of Irvin Rollins, who settled in Wabasha County in 1854, have been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Miss Maud Gernes and members of the Rollins family of Elgin. The diaries, which cover the period from 1848 to 1879, contain accounts of pioneer life in southern Minnesota, tell of the writer's activities as a town official, and include genealogical data on the Keith and Rollins families. A glimpse of Rollins' frontier home is afforded in the following entry: "Beneath the bed are our trunks, a box filled with clothes, another filled with seeds of almost every description, one or two other boxes containing various articles, also three or four pairs of boots and shoes."

Eight manuscript items relating to the Minnesota activities from 1854 to 1857 of Captain William B. Dodd, a prominent pioneer of the Minnesota Valley, have been received from Miss Helen Dodd Lamberton of San Francisco. Included are three letters from Governor Willis A. Gorman, an appeal signed by citizens of Mankato and South Bend asking Dodd to help them organize for protection against the Indians, and records of the organization and minutes of meetings of the St. Peter Guards, a local militia company formed during the Indian outbreak of 1857. The latter records show that

the members of the company planned to wear uniforms consisting of red-striped pants, red-trimmed shirts, and "glazed caps of one pattern as near as possible."

Archives of the war department relating to activities at Fort Snelling from 1855 to 1857 have been copied for the society on film slides from originals in the National Archives at Washington. Included are daily reports, orders, and court-martial records.

A hundred and sixteen letters from the papers of Algernon S. Washburn, a member of a family that was prominent both in Minnesota and national affairs, have been received from Mr. Warren H. Biggs of Williamston, North Carolina. Included are letters written to Washburn, a banker at Hallowell, Maine, by William D. Washburn of Minnesota, Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, Israel Washburn, Jr., of Maine, and other members of the family. William D. Washburn's letters begin soon after his arrival in Minnesota in the 1850's and continue to 1882. Politics, lumbering, and flour milling are among the subjects discussed. "I am building a saw-mill on the Minneapolis Dam," he announced in 1864. "The capacity of the mill will be from 8 to 10 millions and will cost about 18000\$." By 1873 the Minnesotan was more interested in flour milling; "we expect to get our new mill going about Jan'y 15," he writes, and "will astonish the natives on the flour question."

Four volumes of the records of the Market Street station of the Methodist church, later the First Methodist Church of St. Paul, have been presented for the church by the Reverend Theodore H. Leonard of St. Paul. They cover the period from 1857 to 1906 and include marriage, baptismal, and membership reports, and quarterly conference minutes. Among the ministers whose records are included are Edward Eggleston, the novelist, who served for a time as a Methodist pastor in St. Paul. Included in the gift is a detailed report of a Minnesota state Sunday school convention, held at the Central Presbyterian Church of St. Paul on June 13, 1859, and a Sunday school record book. The latter contains the minutes of the meetings in St. Paul and a list of members of the Pacific Hose Company, which was organized on September 28, 1857.

The diary of "little Will" Holyoke and two letters telling of his death while traveling westward as a member of Captain James L. Fisk's overland expedition of 1863 have been received from Miss Louise Stegner of Omaha, Nebraska. The diary entries begin on June 1, 1863, when Holyoke left St. Paul to join the expedition, describe the trip through Minnesota, and end abruptly in August, shortly before the writer's death in the Little Prickly Pear Valley.

Letters written in the 1880's by Alfred J. Hill, Warren Upham, and Nathan Butler are among fourteen items recently presented by Dr. Thomas S. Roberts of the University of Minnesota. Among the subjects that these correspondents mentioned to Dr. Roberts were Indian mounds in Minnesota and Dakota, Upham's activities with the Minnesota Geological and Natural History Survey, and a meeting of a section of the Minnesota Historical Society in the Reverend Edward D. Neill's parlor. Included in the gift are photographs of Hill and Butler.

Of special interest to students of the labor movement and labor organizations is a scrapbook kept by J. P. McGaughey of Minneapolis and recently presented by his son, Mr. John P. McGaughey of the same city. The elder McGaughey was a prominent member of the Knights of Labor, and most of the clippings relate to its activities and to its meetings at St. Paul, Minneapolis, Mankato, and Stillwater. With the gift are a pamphlet containing a record of the proceedings of a district assembly of the Knights of Labor at St. Paul on July 17, 1887, and a statement by T. V. Powderly defending himself against charges of malfeasance while serving as chairman of the organization's general executive board.

Records of an investigation conducted from 1913 to 1915 by Thomas G. Shearman, assistant attorney for the department of the interior, have been copied for the society on filmstrips from originals preserved in the National Archives. The investigation was made in response to complaints by Minnesota Chippewa that certain mixed-bloods were illegally retained on the White Earth annuity rolls. The testimony of the Indians contains many details about their families, their participation in the fur trade, and treaties with the whites. The record also includes information about cases handled for mixed-bloods

by Ransom J. Powell, whose papers relating to these cases are owned by the society (see *ante*, 20:83).

A file of the *Washington County Journal* of Stillwater, covering the period from March 3, 1893, to July 12, 1918, is the gift of Mr. Frederick C. Neumeier of Stillwater. Mrs. Laura Trevitt of St. Paul has presented a copy, believed to be unique, of the *Newport News* for September 26, 1889.

More than a hundred of the hundred and fifty colored lithographs originally included in John James Audubon's two-volume work on the *Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* (New York, 1845-46) have been presented by Mrs. Charles W. Gordon of St. Paul.

Mrs. J. L. Watson of St. Paul has presented several articles used by her father, M. N. Kellogg, while serving in the Mexican War as a member of the band of the Sixth United States Infantry. Included are a wooden clarinet, a fatigue cap, a music book, and Kellogg's violin. An old-fashioned music box with removable rolls is the gift of Mr. Arthur McKenzie of St. Paul.

A large collection of costumes, including women's dresses and accessories, children's clothing, and a coachman's outfit of bearskin, has been presented by Miss Mary Blake Young of St. Paul in memory of her mother, the late Mrs. Edward B. Young. Other additions to the costume collection include dresses of beaded chiffon and blue satin, waists, and pumps, from Mrs. Louis W. Hill, Sr., of St. Paul; a cream taffeta wedding dress of 1893 and several hats, from Miss Margaret Hammond of St. Paul; and a bonnet veil, from Miss Florence M. Saunders of Sussex, England. A willow chair made in 1855 has been presented by Mrs. Amos McCree of St. Paul, and an arm-chair used in the old Cheever Tower is the gift of Mr. H. O. McMillan of Minneapolis.

Oil portraits of Colonel and Mrs. Josiah Snelling have been presented by their great-granddaughter, Miss Marion Snelling Hall of Cincinnati. These portraits will eventually be hung in the Round Tower museum at the Minnesota fort which bears Colonel Snelling's name. The Misses E. C. and I. E. Russell of St. Paul have presented oil portraits of two prominent Minneapolis pioneers — Judge Henry G. Hicks and John Martin, steamboat captain, lumberman,

and miller. Crayon portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Hoyt Devlin, St. Anthony pioneers, and a photograph of Dr. E. L. Mann of St. Paul are the gifts of Mrs. Tennie Barton of Los Angeles and of Mrs. Charles F. Stickney of Traverse City, Michigan. Other recent additions to the picture collection are two views of Fort Garry, from Dr. J. C. Ferguson of St. Paul; stereoscopic views and negatives of Duluth and North Shore scenes, made by B. F. Childs of Houghton, Michigan, from Mr. Dewey Albinson of Minneapolis; and a photograph of a University Club group that participated in the St. Paul Winter Carnival of 1916, from Miss Frances Rogers of St. Paul.

Genealogical works added to the society's collection during the second quarter of 1940 include: Anna A. Wright, *Allen Family of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Fairhaven* (Ithaca, New York, 1938. 36 p.); Anna A. Wright, *Bartlett Allen Line* (Ithaca, 1939. 32 p.); Alma L. James, *Ancestry and Posterity of Obil Beach* (Fairbury, Illinois, 1936. 456 p.); Henry S. Brashear, *The Brashear-Brashears Family, 1449-1929* (Texarkana, Texas, 1929. 170 p.); Charles D. Breneman, *History of the Descendants of Abraham Breneman* (Elida, Ohio, 1939. 566 p.); *The Conrad Clan, Family of John Stephen Conrad, Sr., and Allied Lines* (Harrisonburg, Virginia, 1939. 355 p.); Frank L. Crawford, *Morris D'Camp Crawford and His Wife, Charlotte Holmes Crawford, Their Lives, Ancestries and Descendants* (Ithaca, 1939. 216 p.); Theodore A. Cutting, *Cutting Kin* (Campbell, California, 1939. 224 p.); Ella Daily Fox, *The Dailey Family, A Biographical History and Genealogy of the Descendants of Ebenezer Dailey* (1939. 186 p.); William H. Montgomery, *The Dare Family History* (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1939. 340 p.); Francis de Sales Dundas, *Dundas, Hesselius* (Philadelphia, 1938. 122 p.); *Society of the Descendants of Norman Fox* (New York, 1940. 19 p.); *Notable Southern Families: Hixon of Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1940. 24 p.); Harry G. Gager, *Descendants of Jeremiah Jagger (Gager) of Watertown, Mass., 1630 and John Jagger of Southampton, L. I., 1640* (San Francisco, 1939. 11 p.); Calvin T. Lucy, *Lineal Descendants of Major Samuel Kelly Lucy, Native of Brunswick County, Virginia* (Richmond, 1937. 47 p.); Harry A. Davis, *The McIntire Family, Descendants of Micum Mecantire of York County, Maine* (1939. 243 p.); Anna A. Wright, *Notes on Hugh and Christiana McMillen of Loch Eil Scotland and Stony*

Creek, N. Y. (Ithaca, 1937. 49 p.); Walter G. Davis, *The Ancestry of Sarah Miller, 1755-1840, Wife of Lieutenant Amos Towne of Arundel, Maine* (Portland, Maine, 1939. 94 p.); Fleming Newbold, *Family of Charles and Frances Lowe Newbold, Ancestors and Descendants* (Washington, 1939. Chart); Samuel Shankman, *The Peres Family* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938. 241 p.); Robinson Genealogical Society, *Robinson Genealogy: Descendants of Gain Robinson and Moses Robinson* (Boston, 1933. vol. 2, 197 p.); May Deacon, *Descendants of William Armiger Scripps, 1798-1927* (Kent, England, 1927. 5 charts); Frank W. Simmonds, *John and Susan Simmonds and Some of Their Descendants, with Related Ancestral Lines* (Rutland, Vermont, 1940. 222 p.); Lewis O. Stiles, *The Family of David Stiles; or, The Ten Tribes of the House of David* (Louisville, 1939. 310 p.); John C. Sweet, *The John C. Sweets of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis, 1940. 67 p.); Ellery K. Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare; Being the Graphic Pedigree of Over One Thousand Descendants of John Winthrop, 1588-1649* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1939. 77 p.); Flora L. Woltz, *The Woltz Family* (San Francisco, 1939. 125 p.); Charles C. Gardner, *Ancestry of Thomas Jefferson Wood, 1843-1894, Descendant From Edmund Wood of Yorkshire, England* (Newark, New Jersey, 1940. 94 p.); Ellen P. Carpenter, *The First Zehner-Hoppes Family History* (South Bend, Indiana, 1939. 214 p.).

Several volumes of typewritten genealogical material have been presented by the Daughters of the American Revolution in Minnesota. Included are three volumes containing Bible records, lineage charts, and genealogical notes; an account of the "Ancestry of Marion (Miller) Bagley and of Dr. William Richardson Bagley" by Mrs. Marion Bagley (Duluth, 1940. 132 p.); and a collection of material on the "Webber Family of Maine" assembled by the late Alice Webber Child and compiled by Emojene Champine (Minneapolis, 1940. 51 p.).

Among local histories recently received are: Daisy H. Malone, *A Group of Family Trees of the Early Settlers of Corinth Township, Williamson County, Illinois* (Pueblo, Colorado, 1939. 200 p.); Mrs. F. C. Wherly, *Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Elkhart County and Old Graves in Baintertown Cemetery* (1938. 8 p.); *History of Cedar County with a History of Iowa* (Chicago, 1901.

2 vols.); Charles B. Heinemann, "*First Census*" of Kentucky, 1790 (Washington, D. C., 1940. 118 p.); *Historic Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick, Maryland, 1932. 48 p.); Joseph T. Simmons, *St. George Chronicles* (Augusta, Maine, 1932. 78 p.); Sarah C. Sedgwick, *Stockbridge, 1739-1939, a Chronicle* (Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1939. 306 p.); *Portrait and Biographical Record of Berrien and Cass Counties, Michigan* (Chicago, 1893. 922 p.); Federal Writers' Project of New Jersey, *Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches at Raccoon and Penns Neck, 1713-1786* (Trenton, New Jersey, 1938. 387 p.); Historical Records Survey, *Records of the Road Commissioners of Ulster County, 1722-1769* (Albany, New York, 1940. vol. 1, 110 p.); William W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy: Records of New York City and Long Island* (Ann Arbor, 1940. vol. 3, 540 p.); *Memoirs of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Personal and Genealogical* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1904. 2 vols.); Will T. Hale, *Early History of Warren County* (McMinnville, Tennessee, 1930. 59 p.); Herbert S. Walbridge, *History and Development of North Bennington, Vermont* (1937. 71 p.); William R. Cocke, *Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes* (Columbia, Virginia, 1940. 215 p.); Beverley Fleet, *King and Queen County Records concerning 18th Century Persons* (Richmond, 1940. 115 p.).

The following books about English records have been added to the society's genealogical collection: Kathleen Blomfield, *National Index of Parish Register Copies* (London, 1939. 90 p.); B. G. Bouwens, *Wills and Their Whereabouts* (London, 1939. 86 p.); John Macmillan, *Register of the Reverend John Macmillan, Being a Record of Marriages and Baptisms Solemnized by Him* (Edinburgh, 1908. 82 p.); Helen S. Fields, *Index of the Register of Reverend John Macmillan* (Washington, 1940. 137 p.); Society of Genealogists, London, *Catalogue of the Parish Registers in the Possession of the Society of Genealogists* (London, 1937. 80 p.).

NEWS AND COMMENT

"A STATEMENT OF POLICY by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," recently drawn up by a committee on objectives and published in the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, should serve as a guide for historical societies throughout America. The principle that "historical societies must look both to the past and to the future" is expounded in the first part of the statement, which is given the heading, "A Declaration of Faith." The historical library and the historical society, according to the committee, "must seek to preserve neglected or forgotten records of former generations, but they must also seek to divine what records of the present day will be demanded of them by historians in the future." Thus they have before them daily the "problem of guessing what the future definition of history may be." The statement points out that it is the duty of all historical societies "not merely to preserve the raw materials of history but also to disseminate historical knowledge." Asserting that "principles and standards" should be "redefined," the committee proceeds to define history "as the record of man's past, from the beginning of recorded time to the present." This definition of history "should be applied to the publications of the Society, its public activities, and its duty of collecting historical materials." The historical society's publications should "exclude or include articles with reference to their merit as contributions to historical knowledge or to their style, but not with reference to other considerations such as local or family pride"; the organization should disseminate "historical information . . . by popular types of lectures, by radio dramatizations, and possibly by popular historical publications"; in collecting, the society should use as a criterion the value of materials as historical sources and not their "rarity or sentimental associational values." The statement concludes with the following summary:

In short, the Society should uphold a broad definition of history and high standards of scholarship in all of its functions; its membership should be representative of the whole community; its collections should emphasize with impartiality all phases of history, all periods, and all population elements within its jurisdiction; its publications should not neglect any of these categories; its lectures and public activities should

be addressed to the interests not of particular groups or even to the present membership but should adhere to an ideal that might appeal to a much larger potential membership; its name and its imprint should be guarded with the utmost zeal so as to preserve in all of the Society's relations with the community an unimpeachable reputation for high standards of scholarship, free of pendency and antiquarianism and enlarged by a broad vision of history.

In interpreting the statement, Dr. Julian P. Boyd, the Pennsylvania society's librarian and editor, asserts that "It implies a belief in the value and dignity of the incomparable story of America, a delight in its variant voices from all lands blending into a common voice of hope and promise." This statement, he writes, "means a deep concern for the life of the people as well as a desire to record the actions of their leaders"; it means a "broad and intelligent interest in the fundamental unit in society, the family, and not a mere concern for the compilation of genealogical tables"; it expresses a desire for the increased usefulness of the society's "collections and for the manifold benefits that flow from a knowledge and understanding of backgrounds."

The need for a "reconsideration of American history from the urban point of view" is set forth by Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger in a stimulating article on "The City in American History," which appears in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. "The spectacular size of the westward movement beginning shortly after the Revolution has obscured the fact that the city . . . after 1820 grew very much faster than the rural regions," writes Professor Schlesinger. He speaks of the "Success of the trans-Appalachian country in breeding its own urban communities" — "raw western towns" that "first served as distributing points for commodities between the seaboard and the interior," and "soon became marts where the local manufacturer and the country dweller plied a trade to mutual advantage." Later, when the railroads "penetrated Middle America, they expedited settlement and energized cities into being." By the turn of the century, the city had "become a national rather than a sectional institution." The writer suggests that as the American cities grew, the country dweller developed a "feeling of inferiority," a "deepening sense of frustration," to which the "historian must look for the basic explanation of the recurrent agrarian uprisings." In conclusion Professor Schlesinger writes: "At first servant to an

agricultural economy, then a jealous contestant, then an oppressor, it [*the city*] now gives evidence of becoming a comrade and cooperator in a new national synthesis. Its economic function has been hardly more important than its cultural mission or its transforming influence on frontier conceptions of democracy. A force both for weal and woe, the city challenges the attention of scholars who will find in its ramifying history innumerable opportunities for rewarding research."

The artist's "products are documents and have remained extant for the historian's use, in part just because they are works of art — persisting in the folk tradition as ballads, rounds, or dances, or prized by a more consciously aesthetic tradition as chamber music, drama, churches and easel paintings." Thus writes R. F. Arragon in an article on "The Share of the Arts in the Interpretation of History," which appears in the *Pacific Historical Review* for March. The author finds it unnecessary "to argue that art is a part of the social process and that works of art are materials not only for histories of arts and crafts but also for histories of societies and cultures." He points out that today art history is frequently included in regular courses in history and that works of art, musical and visual, are frequently used as illustrative material.

In an account of the "Franklin D. Roosevelt Library," appearing in the *American Archivist* for April, R. D. W. Connor describes the President as the "nation's answer to the historian's prayer." The writer shows what has happened to the papers of former presidents, and then goes on to tell of President Roosevelt's plans for the preservation and care of his own collections. He has made it possible, according to Mr. Connor, "to set up for the first time in this country, under federal control and for the use of the public, an extensive collection of source material relating to a specific period in American history." The building at Hyde Park in which the collection will be housed will be completed in the fall of 1940.

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada*, issued as a supplement to the *American Historical Review* for April, 1940, includes a number of topics of special Northwest and Minne-

sota interest. Among them are the following: "The Diary of Ignatius Donnelly," edited with an introduction and notes by Theodore Nydahl (Minnesota), "David Dale Owen," by Walter B. Hendrickson (Harvard), "A History of the Federal Judicial System in the Northwest," by Robert P. Fogerty (Minnesota), "The Non-partisan League," by Robert H. Bahmer (Minnesota), "The Farm Labor Party in Minnesota," by Renata R. Wasson (Minnesota), "The Progressive Movement in Minnesota," by Wilfred O. Stout, Jr. (Princeton), "The Federal Relations of the Territory of Wisconsin," by Anne H. Cochrane (Wisconsin), "Political Irregularity in Wisconsin and Minnesota," by Roy W. Opegard (Wisconsin), "The Catholic Church in Minnesota, 1850-1918," by Sister Grace McDonald (Minnesota), "The Twentieth Century Agrarian Movement in the Northwest," by Theodore Saloutos (Wisconsin), "The Development of Manufactures in the Great Lakes Basin," by William E. Pautz (Columbia), "History of the Minnesota Dairy Industry," by Everett E. Edwards (Harvard), "Wisconsin Lumber Industry," by Bernard Kleven (Minnesota), "Early American Farm Journals, 1819-1860," by Albert L. Demaree (Columbia), "History of the Swedish American Press," by Harald A. Ericson (Northwestern), "History of Game and Fish Conservation in Minnesota since 1858," by Evadene Burris Swanson (Minnesota), "The Project for a Pacific Railroad in the History of the United States to 1860," by Roy E. Appleman (Columbia), "The Colonization Policy of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad," by Richard C. Overton (Harvard), "Social Conditions on the Wisconsin Frontier," by Charles J. Kennedy (Wisconsin), "The Founding of Yellowstone National Park," by William T. Jackson (Texas), and "The Opening of the Black Hills in South Dakota, 1861-1876," by Olaf T. Hagen (Minnesota).

"Business History Material in the Minnesota Historical Society" is the title of an article by Rodney C. Loehr in the April number of the *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society. Some of the Minnesota society's collections of records of stores and other "distribution agencies," lumbering concerns, fur-trading companies, manufacturing and transportation agencies, newspaper publishers, banking and insurance companies, labor organizations, and agricultural asso-

ciations are here listed and evaluated. Special mention is made of the Jason C. Easton Papers, consisting of "over a ton of material," and of the recently acquired Thomas J. Meighen collection. The latter includes the records of the Meighen general store at Forestville, a picture of which appears with the article. In his examination of the society's business manuscripts, Dr. Loehr unfortunately overlooks the papers of individuals, including some of the state's leading businessmen. For example, he fails to describe or mention the society's rich collections of papers of such fur traders as Henry H. Sibley, Alexis Bailly, Norman W. Kittson, and Martin McLeod; of public utility leaders, including Sibley and Hercules L. Dousman; of transportation chiefs, like William F. Davidson; and of lumbermen, such as Frederick W. Bonness, John De Graw, and William D. Hale. All these and many more are represented in the society's collections by substantial groups of personal papers. G. L. N.

A List of Published Writings of Special Interest in the Study of Historic Architecture of the Mississippi Valley has been issued by the Historic American Buildings Survey of the National Park Service (St. Louis, 1940. 22 p.). Only one Minnesota item—and that of minor importance—is included. In their attempt to "trace the path of the white man's civilization in the Valley by his architectural landmarks," the compilers have overlooked the various accounts of the Sibley House; Evadene Burris Swanson's study of the methods used in "Building the Frontier Home," which appeared in this magazine for January, 1934; a wealth of material on the work in Minnesota of such architects as LeRoy Buffington and Cass Gilbert; and numerous other items.

"The pictorial story of the improvement of transportation in Colonial America and the United States during the past four centuries" is presented in a booklet entitled *Highways of History*, recently issued by the bureau of public roads of the United States department of agriculture. In thirty-five pictures, the progress of transportation is reviewed, from the introduction of the horse to the construction of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. The scenes depicted are taken from a series of dioramas displayed at the Golden Gate International Exposition at San Francisco.

The Sioux or Dakota Indian is characterized as the "ideal of the artist" by Clark Wissler in his recent book on *Indians of the United States: Four Centuries of Their History and Culture*, published as a volume in the *Science Series* of the American Museum of Natural History (New York, 1940). "Tall, slender, with small hands and feet but sinewy body, strong features, high cheekbones and a beaked nose — the Indian of the nickel — all these characteristics may be seen in the Dakota or some of their hybrids," Mr. Wissler continues. "We expect all Indians to wear the Dakota costume," he writes; "it is the conventional formal dress of the contemporary Indian." He gives some attention to the Dakota language — "a pleasing language with many soft consonants," which "is still spoken and written by more than thirty-five thousand persons." Mr. Wissler tells also of the long conflict between the Sioux and the Chippewa — the "Two Hundred Years War" — and of the Sioux "War with the United States" that began in Minnesota in 1862.

"The various uses of plants by the Chippewa indicate the large extent to which they understood and utilized the natural resources of their environment," writes Gerald C. Stowe in an article on "Plants Used by the Chippewa," appearing in the *Wisconsin Archeologist* for April. The author presents lists of plants used by the Chippewa for medicinal purposes, as food, as seasoning, as dyes, and as charms. Special attention is given to wild rice and the methods of preparing it.

The geological story of the Great Lakes, with their pre-glacial and glacial history, is reviewed by Helen M. Martin in a little book entitled "*Ne-saw-je-won, as the Ottawas Say: A Tale of the Waters That Run Down from Lake Superior to the Sea*" (Cleveland, 1939. 82 p.). The author indicates that "through all the time man has been on the continent, the lakes have exerted an influence on his life." They served to lure the early explorers westward, furnished a route for trader and trapper, and became the highway of a "vast water-borne commerce when the riches of their waters and their borders became known."

In the early years of the present century, "the farmers in the western and northwestern portions of Wisconsin were not only wit-

nessing the political reformation that was led by La Follette, but they likewise came face to face with the agrarian uprisings of the adjoining wheat country," writes Theodore Saloutos in a study of the "Wisconsin Society of Equity," which appears in the April issue of *Agricultural History*. He indicates that it was to be expected that in the beginning the Equity's membership should be "largest in the river counties." There, too, and in the St. Croix Valley, were to be found a number of co-operative elevators and warehouses. "The ties that bound these upper river counties to the wheat country were not only political and economic, but racial as well," according to Mr. Saloutos. The organization of which he writes began operations in 1903, and its primary purpose "was better farm prices."

The "first federal census in the Territory of Iowa," that taken in 1840, is the subject of an article by Winifred McGuinn Howard in the *Palimpsest* for June. A summary of the census of a century ago is given by counties, and some analyses of age and sex as revealed in the census, of industries, professions, education, and the like are presented.

Three series of lectures presented at Cedar Falls, Iowa, between November, 1866, and April, 1869, are discussed in detail by Luella M. Wright in an article entitled "Culture through Lectures," which appears in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. One section is devoted to the activities of "Lecture Brokers and Promoters," such as the Associated Western Literary Societies of Chicago, which arranged for lecture tours in Iowa and other sections of the West. Among the speakers who appeared under its auspices in Cedar Falls were P. T. Barnum, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, Clara Barton, Petroleum V. Nasby, and Bayard Taylor. The lecture tour of Charles S. Parnell, who passed through Minnesota and Iowa in 1880 pleading the "cause of Ireland's land-impoveryished peasants," is described by Kenneth E. Colton in an article entitled "Parnell's Mission in Iowa," which appears in the *Annals of Iowa* for April.

The "Red River Flood of '97," as recorded in the diary of George Black, is the subject of an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* for May 4. In a brief introduction, W. E. Ingersoll explains that Mr. Black, a provincial government representative, made a voyage on the relief

boat "Assiniboine" from Winnipeg to Emerson in the last week of April, 1897. The diary in which he recorded his impressions of the destructive flood is still in his possession.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

To its *Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota*, the Minnesota Historical Records Survey has recently added four substantial volumes, in which are listed records preserved in the courthouses of Benton County at Foley (no. 5—293 p.), of Dakota County at Hastings (no. 19—158 p.), of Jackson County at Jackson (no. 32—329 p.), and of Morrison County at Little Falls (no. 49—323 p.). All contain historical sketches and accounts of the "Governmental Organization and Records System" of the counties under discussion. The Historical Records Survey also has issued a booklet on the "Veterans' Administration" in Minnesota (50 p.), which appears as series 12 of the *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States*. The records listed in this volume are preserved at Minneapolis and St. Cloud. The Historical Records Survey announced recently that since 1937 workers engaged in this WPA project have examined almost two million units of county records. Those in all of Minnesota's eighty-seven counties have been listed, inventories for eighteen counties have been published, four will be issued in the near future, and those for more than twenty additional counties are nearly ready for publication.

"Fort Ridgely in Minnesota, explored and restored under the technical direction of the National Park Service, is an example of pure historical archaeology requiring a coördination of historical, archaeological, and architectural research." Thus writes A. R. Kelly in an article on "Archaeology in the National Park Service," which appears in *American Antiquity* for April. It will be recalled that the excavations on the site of old Fort Ridgely were discussed by G. Herbert Smith, who directed the operations at that place, in the issue of this magazine for June, 1939 (*ante*, 20: 146-155).

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen was the principal speaker at the dedication on June 14 of the old Round Tower at Fort Snelling, which has been restored and opened as a museum. The significance of Fort Snelling in the history of the Northwest was the theme of Dr. Blegen's address. Sections of a mural painting inside the tower by

Richard Haines, depicting incidents in the early history of the fort, were shown for the first time during the dedication ceremonies.

The story of an iron post placed near New Albin, Iowa, in 1849 to mark the boundary between Minnesota and Iowa is reviewed in the *Caledonia Journal* for April 4. In order to preserve the marker, residents of the community have placed it in a concrete base with a bronze plaque recording its history. Plans are now under way, according to this account, to remove the marker from its present isolated location to a site exactly on the boundary adjoining a state highway.

The old Savanna Portage trail, which was used by traders and voyageurs in traversing the divide between the waters that flow into Lake Superior and those connecting with the Mississippi, was located, cleared of underbrush, and marked during the past summer. Engaged in this work were sixty-six Eagle Boy Scouts from Minnesota, Montana, and North and South Dakota.

That the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods is a "Geographic Puzzle" is brought out in the title of an article about this interesting feature of Minnesota's northern boundary appearing in the *Midwest Motor Traffic News* for May. It contains some information about La Vérendrye's exploits in the area of the Northwest Angle, about Indian legends relating to the region, and about diplomatic negotiations relating to the boundary. Mention is made also of the old Dawson Road and of a feldspar mine in the vicinity.

Under the title "There Is History in Garrets," Professor Andrew Boss presents a "discussion of missing sources in the story of Minnesota Agriculture" in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for June 8. The writer laments that of some hundred and twenty-five agricultural periodicals published in Minnesota in the past, "scarcely twenty-five . . . are represented in the libraries of the Twin Cities." He appeals to friends of the university to search in their attics for copies of such journals, for Grange publications, for old textbooks and manuals of agriculture, for records of agricultural associations and schools, and for such manuscript items as farmers' diaries, minute books of farmers' clubs, account books of country stores, and the like. Professor Boss notes that two farmers' diaries were recently edited by Rodney

Loehr and published by the Minnesota Historical Society, but he fails to mention the society's extensive and growing collection of sources for the history of Minnesota agriculture. Among his concrete suggestions for studies in the field of agricultural history is one based upon the foreign language farm journals, through which the historian could penetrate the "life of the inarticulate immigrant farmer as has Rolvaag in his *Giants in the Earth*." "Former students and friends of the University," writes Professor Boss, should assist in locating and collecting sources for the history of Minnesota agriculture, for such materials are "now rapidly disappearing, either through neglect or through ignorance of their worth. If these items are not gathered now and placed in libraries where they can be preserved, they will be lost forever."

The Minnesota state reorganization bill of 1925 is analyzed by A. E. Buck in his volume on the *Reorganization of State Governments in the United States*, which has been issued in the *National Municipal League Series* (New York, 1938. 299 p.). Modifications made in the Minnesota plan through 1937 also are noted.

The "Scramble for Population" that marked the taking of the census of 1890 in St. Paul and Minneapolis is the subject of an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 7. Newspaper headlines and cartoons published in Twin City papers during this census struggle, which resulted in a recount, are reproduced with the article.

An address on "Donnelly's Minnesota" was presented by Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, at a meeting of the Ignatius Donnelly Memorial Association held at Nininger on June 9. The text of this address appears in the *Hastings Gazette* for June 21. The association is keeping the Donnelly House at Nininger open to visitors during the summer; Miss Elsa Krauch is in charge.

Three physicians, Dr. John L. Balcombe, Dr. J. W. Bentley, and Dr. George F. Childs, arrived in Winona County as early as 1852, according to a "History of Medicine in Winona County," the first installment of which appears in the April issue of *Minnesota Medicine*. This narrative, which is continued in the May and June numbers, is one section of an extensive "History of Medicine in Minne-

sota" which has been appearing in this publication for some time (see *ante*, p. 210). These early Winona County doctors do not seem to have displayed much interest in medicine; Dr. James M. Cole, who settled at Winona in 1854, appears to have been the "first permanent, practicing physician" in the county. The activities of physicians who followed Dr. Cole, outbreaks of disease in the county, the organization of the Winona County Medical Society, and the activities of the Homeopathic Medical Society of Southern Minnesota are among the subjects covered in the installments published in April and May. Brief biographical sketches of Winona County doctors make up the June installment.

Dr. Charles N. Hewitt, Dr. J. Clark Stewart, Dr. C. Eugene Riggs, Dr. Thomas G. Lee, and Dr. Frank F. Westbrook are designated as "Pioneers in Research" in the medical school of the University of Minnesota by Dr. Louis B. Wilson, writing in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for May 4. His discussion of the contributions of these men to medical science was presented originally in connection with the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the medical school in 1939.

Historical sketches of Catholic parishes in various Minnesota communities continue to appear in the *Wanderer* of St. Paul (see *ante*, p. 210). In recent issues accounts have appeared of churches, schools, hospitals, and other institutions at Rochester (April 11), Wabasha (April 25), Lake City (May 2), Austin (May 30), and Red Wing (June 27).

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Crow Wing County Historical Society has one of the most attractive and best-arranged local historical museums in Minnesota. Although its collections are housed in a rather dingy basement room of the courthouse at Brainerd, the arrangement and lighting are such that the visitor obtains a clear and pleasing impression of the exhibits. Certain subjects of special local interest have been emphasized in building up this collection, and there is a grouping of materials relating to specific developments.

Since the museum was opened in February, 1932, it has assembled a notable logging exhibit. In the heart of the Minnesota pineries, Crow Wing County was once dotted with the lumber camps whose

activities are recalled by these displays. Included are several original items from this frontier industry—an ox cart with wooden wheels, believed to have been used for hauling logs in the 1850's, that was found at the bottom of a lake, a wooden yoke used by water carriers in the lumber camps, logging and boom chains, bog shoes used on oxen, and the like. There is a large collection of cooking utensils and a tin lunch kit from a logging camp, with kettles and griddles of adequate size for Paul Bunyan himself. A miniature model of a logging camp, constructed by Dudley J. Gordon of Daggett Brook Township, is displayed in a single large case. There, side by side, are the main camp building, divided into bunkhouse and cookshack, the blacksmith shop, the ox house, and the stable. Openings in the roofs of the tiny log buildings afford views of their interior furnishings and arrangements. The museum also has miniature models of a loaded logging sled, a water tank used in icing roads in winter, and a log jammer.

Another valuable group consists of Indian objects. Outstanding is the collection of 268 arrowheads, displayed in hanging wall cases, presented to the society in 1938 as a memorial to the late Fred Cowden. Additional arrowheads, spearheads, stone hammers and other primitive implements, potsherds, bead work, drums, rattles, and the like are displayed in two large floor cases.

A third large exhibit is devoted to objects illustrative of the activities of pioneer women. There are spinning wheels, watches, candlesticks, sugar and salt boxes, coffee mills, a spool holder, a sewing bird, a warming pan, a carpet stretcher, copper kettles, early sewing machines, pieces of flat silver, a sausage stuffer, porcelain and china dishes, glassware, and innumerable other objects that were used in frontier homes. Costumes, too, there are in profusion, with such accessories as lace, fans, bags, hats, shoes, and shawls.

The society has some collections of military interest, including rifles, flintlock guns, powder flasks, and World War objects. Helms, trumpets, and other items used by members of an early fire department in Brainerd are on display. There are also badges and money bags used by conductors on local street cars before 1898. A model of a little church built at old Crow Wing for Father Francis Pierz in 1850 is of interest.

Most of the more than thirteen hundred pictures in the society's

possession are portraits and local scenes. Many of the smaller pictures have been mounted on wing screens and labeled. All are listed in an alphabetical index. Among the larger pictures is a portrait of Lyman P. White, who laid out the townsite of Brainerd, and a self portrait of Colonel Freeman Thorp, an artist who settled at Lake Hubert in 1895. With the latter is a sketch of Thorp's cabin and part of one of the illustrated articles for homesteaders that he prepared for the *Chicago Record*. An interesting water color, executed by H. F. J. Kniett, a government topographer, shows his home on Bay Lake about 1880. The museum has a number of interesting paintings by a former curator, Mrs. Sarah Thorp Heald. These include three logging scenes, and several views showing events in the early history of the county. Mention should be made also of a large framed colored poster, advertising the Minnesota State Fair at Owatonna in 1883.

A number of valuable newspaper files are preserved by this society. For Brainerd it has complete files of the weekly *Dispatch* from August 2, 1883, to January 2, 1914, of the daily *Dispatch* from June 3, 1901, to June 4, 1914, of the *Northwestern Tribune* from May 31, 1884, to January 9, 1886, and of the *Tribune* from January 16, 1886, to December 10, 1887. An incomplete file of the *Ironton News* extends from January 7, 1919, to October 7, 1927. Some manuscript material has been assembled, though it has not yet been arranged. Included are records of schools, churches, and local organizations, some county archives, military papers, genealogical records, and items relating to immigration and settlement. Workers engaged in a WPA project have prepared biographies of more than fifteen hundred pioneers and sketches of some eleven hundred war veterans. A list of accessions and an index of donors are among the records kept by the museum.

Space and light for this museum are furnished by the county, and such materials as stationery and cards are supplied by the society. All personal assistance has been made available through the WPA, which means that the museum is open only when WPA help can be obtained. During the past summer, for example, at the height of the tourist season, the museum was closed. The Crow Wing County Historical Society has established a museum of which Brainerd and Crow Wing County might well be proud—a museum that has been receiving about five thousand visitors a year and is an important tour-

ist attraction. Such a museum deserves adequate financial support from the county, which should supply funds to maintain it and keep it open throughout the year.

B. L. H.

Models of historic houses and other structures in Minnesota were displayed at a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society at Anoka on June 29. Mrs. Douglas Winter of Mound, who made the models, spoke on the structures represented, including the Sibley, Ramsey, Lindbergh, and Faribault houses. About fifty people attended the meeting.

Meetings of the Becker County Historical Society held at Detroit Lakes on April 2 and May 7 were marked by an appeal for the preservation of historical sources by each generation and a display of old-fashioned costumes. A brief reminiscent account of pioneer life at Detroit Lakes, presented by Mrs. Delia Gallagher at the latter meeting, is published in the *Detroit Lakes Tribune* for May 16.

More than two hundred and fifty people attended the annual meeting and banquet of the Brown County Historical Society, which was held in New Ulm on May 1. Papers were presented on "The Organization of Brown County and the Changing Border Lines," by Professor Carl Schweppe of the Dr. Martin Luther College; on "Township Organization" in Brown County, by Albert Pfaender; and on "The Sioux Indian Reservation and Its Relation to Brown County," by Walter W. Mickelson. Mr. Mickelson's paper appears in the *New Ulm Daily Journal* for May 11, and Mr. Pfaender's is printed in the same paper for May 13.

A meeting held at Mayer on April 12 resulted in the organization of the Carver County Historical Society. Thirty-three charter members joined the society, a constitution was adopted, and the following officers were named: O. D. Sell of Mayer, president; Oscar Trittaugh of New Germany, vice-president; James F. Faber of Chaska, secretary; and Ray Diethelm of Victoria, treasurer. Quarters have been obtained in the schoolhouse at Mayer and a beginning has been made in assembling a museum collection. Since the organization meeting, the society has held meetings at Waconia on May 2 and at Chaska on June 6. At the April meeting, Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, spoke, explaining

the value to the county of a local historical organization. Among those appearing on later programs were Mr. H. H. Aspden of Chanhassen, who spoke on the early settlement of the county, and Mr. J. M. Aretz of St. Paul, who told of the contributions of various racial groups that have settled in this area. The latter speaker "urged whole-hearted support of the society and recommended not only collection and preservation of relics but the propagation of facts concerning the hopes, aspirations, and experiences of early settlers."

The work of excavating historic sites in the vicinity of Chippewa-Lac qui Parle State Park has been started, according to an announcement in the *Montevideo American* for June 14. The progress of the work is reviewed in the same paper for June 21. The project, which is being sponsored by the Minnesota division of state parks and the Chippewa County Historical Society, is described *ante*, p. 207.

"Every one of the 2,875 objects in the Clay county historical museum," writes Crane Rosenbaum in the *Moorhead Daily News* for May 18, "has a story of pioneer life to tell." They are "mute evidence of the tools which pioneers used, the clothes they wore and the furniture with which they filled their houses." The writer points out that the Clay County Historical Society is preserving also the "words of the pioneers themselves," which are to be found in its manuscript collection. Books, pictures, and manuscripts owned by the society, he notes, are in constant use; among those who have consulted them recently are members of local college classes and an author from Winnipeg.

Mr. Fred E. Lawshe was re-elected president of the Dakota County Historical and Archeological Society at a meeting held at South St. Paul on June 4. At the same meeting, Mrs. R. F. Nelson was named vice-president, Mr. Charles T. Burnley, secretary, and Mr. Thomas Canton, treasurer. A paper on the early history of Dakota County was presented by H. W. Kohlepp. Plans were made for a special historical exhibit at the county fair at Farmington in the fall. The society also hopes to locate exactly the site of the Sioux village of Kaposia and to erect a marker there.

Plans for reorganizing the Douglas County Historical Society and building up its museum collection, outlined at Alexandria on April

15, were followed by the enrollment of more than sixty new members. At a regular meeting of the society, held at Alexandria on May 3, the following officers were elected: Mr. Lewis Baker, president; Mrs. Victor Skoglund, treasurer; and Miss Lorayne Larson, treasurer. The society plans to maintain a display of museum objects from its collections in the library at Alexandria, and to arrange less extensive exhibits in the courthouse and the local Chamber of Commerce. Seven new display cases have recently been added to the society's equipment; it is preparing a catalog of materials in its collections; and it has issued an appeal to citizens of the county to present items of historic interest and value.

The Fillmore County Historical Society has collected more than six hundred objects and a hundred pictures of local historical interest, and it is making plans for their display in a museum, according to an announcement in the *Rochester Post-Bulletin* for May 11. These collections are now being kept by the society's president, Mr. John C. Mills, in his home at Preston.

Governor Harold E. Stassen was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Hennepin County Historical Society held at Robbinsdale on April 11, the second anniversary of the founding of the society. He stressed the importance of preserving the records of pioneer life and noted the educational value of museums like that established and maintained by the Hennepin County society. A group of objects from the society's collections was placed on display in a local drug-store in connection with the meeting. About a hundred people attended a dinner meeting of the society at St. Louis Park on May 21, when Mrs. Louise H. Watson spoke on "Pioneering in St. Louis Park" and R. J. Landon reviewed the "Topography of Hennepin County." The society's annual tour, which was held on June 22, included visits to the Steven's House, the Soldiers' Home, the Round Tower at Fort Snelling, and the Sibley House at Mendota. It was brought to a close at the Tapping farm at Bloomington, where dinner was served and a program of talks was presented. Early scenes and settlers in Bloomington Township were recalled by Mrs. A. E. Tapping, and Judge Vince A. Day spoke on "Making Modern History." Nearly a thousand visitors were received by the society's museum during the week of May 20.

The name of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers Association was changed to the Kandiyohi County Historical Society at a meeting held at New London on June 14. The following officers were elected to serve for the coming year: A. P. Bergeson, president; Martin Leaf, first vice-president; J. A. Jensen, second vice-president; and A. O. Forsberg, secretary-treasurer.

The suggestion that a museum similar to that of the Roseau County Historical Society at Roseau should be established at Hallock in Kittson County is made in the *Kittson County Enterprise* for April 10. Plans for a new city hall are being made at Hallock, and it is hoped to reserve space in it for a historical museum. The *Enterprise* includes a detailed description of the museum at Roseau and urges residents of Hallock to visit it.

Some recent additions to the collection of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society, which has its museum in the basement of the library in Lake City, are described in the *Lake City Graphic* for April 18. Among them are several pieces of early telephone equipment.

Both the *Hutchinson Banner* and the *Hutchinson Leader* are including columns devoted to the activities of the local historical society, which in the latter paper is designated as the "Hutchinson Chapter" of the McLeod County Historical Society. Some interesting and revealing comments are included in this column, which is prepared by Mrs. Sophie P. White, secretary of the society. For example, in the *Banner* for April 26, she notes that after reading one of these articles, Mrs. Edward Sitz of Lynn recalled that "up in the attic in an old trunk formerly belonging to her grandmother, Mrs. Judith M. Pendergast, there were some old papers." These proved to be eight copies of the rare *Hutchinson Enterprise*, the city's first newspaper, including the first issue, dated June 11, 1874. The papers have now been added to the historical society's collection. They were displayed, with other early McLeod County papers, at a meeting of the society held on May 11. The program, with W. F. Schilling of Northfield as the principal speaker, was designed especially to appeal to the editors of the county. Writing in the *Leader* for April 26, Mrs. White reminds her readers that the Hutchinson society's museum collection "does not and should not consist entirely of old

things. More stress is laid on old things because they are disappearing so fast," she writes. "But every period is an interesting one," she continues, "and books, clothing, furniture, dolls, games, fixtures and gadgets of all kinds that illustrate it are more than welcome."

The story of "Indian Troubles and Wars in Morrison and Adjoining Counties" is outlined by Val E. Kasperek in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* for April 13. Sioux-Chippewa warfare in the vicinity, the difficulties with the Chippewa that accompanied the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, relations with the Winnebago, and the line of Chippewa chiefs who bore the name Hole-in-the-Day are among the subjects touched upon.

A room in the basement of the First National Bank at St. Peter has been equipped for the use of the Nicollet County Historical Society, which has arranged a display of museum objects there. Several cases of objects formerly on display in the courthouse have been removed to the new quarters, and additional cases have been installed. Among recent gifts to the society are a large photograph of St. Peter in 1868, a candle lantern and candle holders used at St. Peter in the 1880's, a number of Indian objects, and other items, presented by Mr. C. Harry Hedberg of Cannon Falls; and several views of the Minnesota River flood of 1881, received from Mr. E. R. Moore of Kent, Washington.

Provision for remodeling the foyer of the courthouse at Worthington to provide display space for the collections of the Nobles County Historical Society was made by the county board early in April, according to an announcement in the *Worthington Daily Globe* for April 11. Two alcoves have been enclosed in glass and fitted with shelves and racks for display purposes. Special arrangements for lighting have been made in the "display alcoves," which are just inside the front entrance of the courthouse.

According to local estimates, several thousand people attended an unusually successful summer meeting and picnic of the Otter Tail County Historical Society on Stalker Lake in Tordenskjold Township on June 30. The early history of the township was reviewed by Ole Sageng, and the story of banking in the county was outlined by Elmer E. Adams. Among other speakers on the program were Martin Rosvold, Adolph Glorvigen, and White Cloud, a Chippewa In-

dian. A feature of the meeting was the dedication of a marker, calling attention to the fact that Tordenskjold, "one of Minnesota's vanished towns," was made the county seat in 1870. A picture of the marker and a copy of the inscription appear in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for July 6.

The Pope County Historical Society's collection now includes 344 museum objects, 66 pictures, and 664 biographies of pioneers, according to a report of its activities during the past year published in the *Glenwood Herald* for May 2. Among its other activities has been the preparation of an index to a file of the *Herald* covering the years from 1900 to 1910. Articles prepared by workers engaged in the society's WPA project appear from time to time in the Pope County newspapers. They are responsible for a history of the Glenwood fire department, the first installment of which appears in both the *Herald* and the *Pope County Tribune* of Glenwood for April 25.

The county commissioners of Renville County agreed to finance the building of cases for the display of the collections of the Renville County Historical Society at a joint meeting of the society's board and the commissioners held at Olivia on April 17. The cases will be installed in the courthouse at Olivia. A committee of the society was appointed to supervise the building and arrangement of the cases.

Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, was the principal speaker at the spring meeting of the Rice County Historical Society, which was held at Northfield on May 16. She took as her subject the "detective work" involved in historical research, and told of some of her discoveries among the manuscripts of the Minnesota society and in other depositories here and abroad. Plans were announced for a summer meeting of the Rice County society, to be held at Lonsdale. Under the sponsorship of the society, workers engaged in a WPA project are making an index for Northfield newspapers preserved in the local library. According to the *Northfield Independent* of May 30, they have now completed the index through 1931 and have prepared about 185,000 cards.

Nearly five hundred people attended the annual picnic of the Todd County Historical Society, which was held at Horseshoe Lake near

Long Prairie on June 23. An address by the Reverend George Rauch was a feature of the program.

A tour of historic sites and buildings in the village of Newport was made by members of the Washington County Historical Society who attended the organization's annual picnic on June 22. Mrs. Mary Bailey spoke on the old Methodist camp ground at Red Rock, near Newport, a site that the society hopes to preserve as a park.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The fact that "questions about property are nothing new in the census" is brought out in an article in the *New Ulm Review* for April 4. It is based upon the "official 1860 census record book for Brown county, one of the most precious possessions of the New Ulm Historical museum." Information about the occupations and nationalities of New Ulm residents of 1860 has been drawn from the census.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *Norwood Times* and a local "Pioneer Days" celebration on May 18 and 19 were the occasions for the publication on May 17 of a special anniversary edition of the Carver County paper. The story of the founding of the *Times* by Joseph W. Craven in the spring of 1890 is set forth in an article which reviews in some detail the history of the paper. Included in the issue also are historical sketches of local schools and churches, of pioneer business concerns, of the community fire department, and an account of motoring in the early days of the automobile.

A bronze marker set in a substantial stone monument has been erected on the site of Pine Bend, an abandoned village of the 1850's, by the National Youth Administration in co-operation with the Minnesota highway department. The inscription gives the information that the "cornfields and village of the Sioux chief Medicine Bottle occupied the land between this point and the river from 1838 to 1852," and that the marker "stands on the abandoned roadbed of the St. Paul and Southern Railway." A picture of the monument, a copy of the inscription, and some information about the "ghost town" of Pine Bend appear in the *Dakota County Tribune* of Farmington for May 17.

A detailed narrative of pioneer life in Greenvale Township by a pioneer settler, Thomas C. Hodgson, appears in the *Dakota County Tribune* of Farmington for May 10. Most of the events recorded occurred in the winter of 1854-55. An interview with Mrs. Lizetta Gross, who has lived at Inver Grove for more than eighty years, is reported in the *Tribune* for June 14. To the issue for May 3, Mrs. Wallace Wood contributes an interesting chapter in the history of local baseball, reviewing the story of the teams at Castle Rock since 1875.

The exploration of the Freeborn County area in 1835 by the army officer for whom Albert Lea was named was celebrated in the southern Minnesota city from June 5 to 8. The occasion, which was designated "Colonel Albert Lea Days," was marked by the publication on May 27 of a "Commemorative Issue" of the *Evening Tribune* of Albert Lea (48 p.). Featured in this elaborately illustrated section is Lester W. Spicer's "Story of Colonel Albert Lea," in which emphasis is given to the exploring soldier's visits to southern Minnesota in 1835 and 1879. The author explains the significance of Lea's *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory*, published at Philadelphia in 1836, tells of the explorer's participation in the Civil War, and relates the story of his visit to the city that bears his name in 1879. Another article is devoted to the career of George S. Ruble, the "Man Who Started Us Going" by settling on the site of Albert Lea in 1855 and building a sawmill. "The Story of Our County," an account of "Contests for the County Seat," the history of Spring Lake Park, an account of Fountain Lake, the career of Dr. A. C. Wedge, and the activities of Francis Hall, who served as the first mayor of Albert Lea, are among the subjects of other articles in this issue of the *Tribune*.

The fiftieth anniversary of "Minnesota's First Co-operative Creamery" was celebrated at Clarks Grove on June 15. The history of the creamery, which was organized on January 28, 1890, and began operating on May 5 of the same year, is outlined in the *Evening Tribune* of Albert Lea for June 11. The part played by the Danes in the co-operative movement in Minnesota is illustrated by the fact that during its first four years the minutes of the Clarks Grove creamery were recorded in Danish. The number of pounds of butter

made by the creamery in each year from 1890 to 1939 and the amounts paid to patrons are given in a table appearing in the same issue of the *Tribune*. Of interest also is an account, by S. P. Fogdall, of the Baptist church at Clarks Grove.

Of interest both to students of the history of agricultural implements and of the industrial development of the Northwest is an article on the Minneapolis-Moline Power Implement Company, published to mark its seventy-fifth anniversary in the *Minneapolis Star-Journal* for April 7. The beginnings of the three concerns that were consolidated in 1929 to form the present company are described. They had their origins in 1865, 1886, and 1902 at Moline, Illinois, Hopkins, and Minneapolis. Another Minneapolis corporation, the Minneapolis Street Railway Company, is the subject of a historical review in the *Star-Journal* for April 14.

Among the numerous items of historical interest recently included in the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review's* column, "Up in This Neck of the Woods," is one in the issue of May 22 dealing with the history of Effie. This community, which recently voted to incorporate as a village, can trace its beginnings only to 1904, and most of the people there are "original homesteaders" or their children. The writer notes that many of the early settlers in this section of Itasca County came from Wright County, farther south.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the village of New London was marked by a three-day celebration from June 12 to 14. It was the occasion also for the publication, in the *Willmar Daily Tribune* of June 10, of a number of interesting articles about the history of the community. They tell of the founding and naming of the town by Louis Larson, of the "four years that New London was the county seat of Monongalia county"; of early business institutions, and especially the development of milling and dairying; and of the early schools of the community.

The "First Population Census" of Hallock was taken by Mr. Axel Lindegard "under his own auspices in 1889," according to the *Kittson County Enterprise* of Hallock for May 15. The account is based upon Mr. Lindegard's recollections of the local population, which he asserts consisted of 275 people in 1889. At the time

he also drew a map of the town, "showing its principal streets and avenues . . . each residence and place of business," and this is still in his possession.

The "Political Turmoil of the Nineties," particularly in Lac qui Parle County, is recalled by Einar Hoidale in an article in the *Dawson Sentinel* for April 12. Mr. Hoidale describes the early interest in the Farmers' Alliance that led him to establish a newspaper in its support — the *Western Guard* — at Dawson in 1891.

A history of the Lake City fire department, originally presented by Mrs. Elton Lamb before a meeting of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society in December, 1936, is published in the *Lake City Graphic* for April 4. The writer points out that the local fire department was organized in 1875 following two disastrous fires earlier in the year.

An important chapter in the recent agricultural history of one section of the Minnesota Valley is reviewed in great detail by E. M. Nelson in the *St. Peter Herald* for June 7, where he presents a history of the Nicollet County Farm Bureau Association. The account is published to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the bureau, which was organized on February 5, 1915. Mr. Nelson describes the varied activities in which the bureau has engaged and tells of the leaders of this work in Nicollet County. He also relates the story of the beginning and development of 4-H Club work in the county.

A monument commemorating the Finnish pioneers of New York Mills was unveiled in that community on June 2. A bronze plate on a shaft of granite bears an inscription in "memory of the Finnish pioneers who settled in this region in 1874 and later years" and who contributed in large measure to the agricultural development of the region.

A booklet recently compiled by workers engaged in the writers' project of the WPA and published under the auspices of the Minnesota department of education is the *Mayors of St. Paul, 1850-1940, Including the First Three Town Presidents* (1940. 73 p.). An introductory section deals briefly with the "Historical Background" of the city's government, from its incorporation as a town in the autumn of 1849 and as a city in 1854 to the adoption of the commis-

sion plan in 1912. This is followed by sketches, each accompanied by a portrait, of the thirty-three men who have guided the city's destinies since 1850. The first three — Dr. Thomas R. Potts, Robert Kennedy, and Bushrod W. Lott — served as presidents of the town board; the remaining thirty were mayors of the city.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Children's Service of St. Paul is being marked this year, according to the June issue of the organization's publication *Children's Service*. The history of this pioneer social agency is reviewed by Judith Corning, who reveals that it had its origin as a Protestant orphan asylum in 1865. In 1932 it was merged with the children's department of the local United Charities, and three years later it was organized under its present name. Methods of support used during the years, the erection of a building in 1885, and other phases of the history of the service are touched upon by the writer.

Professor Leonard S. Wilson of Carleton College is the author of an article on "Faribault, Minnesota: The Sequent Occupance of a Representative Landscape Unit," which appears in the *Proceedings* of the Minnesota Academy of Science for 1939. He shows that the various stages in the development of this Minnesota community were dependent upon geographic factors, from the "first period of settlement . . . characterized by fur trading with local tribes," through an era of lumbering, to an agricultural period marked by the "conversion of the saw mills to grist mills." The writer points out, however, that "The railroads which contributed to the early advantage Faribault held over its local competitors later aided in the decline of the town as a wheat center," for the "speeding up of freight, combined with rate reductions, made for the concentration of milling in the Twin Cities."

"It may fairly be said that the history of Rock county is written in the files of The Herald," reads an editorial in the *Rock County Herald* of Luverne for April 5. With this issue, the pioneer Rock County newspaper marks the completion of sixty-seven years of publication. Thus for "67 of the 73 years since the first settler arrived in Rock county," the paper "has chronicled the life of the county, its growth and development." A brief account of its history appears in the anniversary issue.

Lumber operations in the Bear River Valley are described in an article entitled "King Timber Once Was a Powerful Giant of the North," appearing in the *Hibbing Daily Tribune* for May 21. It is of interest to note that most of the lumbering in this area of northern Minnesota has been done since 1900. Companies and individuals interested in these operations, methods used, and the types of timber cut are mentioned. Lumbering has continued in this district, and "today pulpwood and matchwood timber are being cut," according to this account.

Some interesting bits of information about the early history of St. Cloud, gleaned from letters written between 1855 and 1857 by Warren B. Crane, are presented in an article by his grandson, Burdette Crane Maercklein, in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for May 2. The letters were discovered recently at Hartford, Connecticut, among family papers. The pioneer St. Cloud resident tells of trips to and from the frontier community, of the house that he built there, and of incidents in his life there.

Seventy-two pages of historical material issued in four sections appear with the *Appleton Press* of May 10 to mark the paper's sixtieth anniversary. The paper was established as the *Riverside Press* on April 3, 1880; three years later it began publication under its present name. Most of the material appearing in the anniversary number has been gleaned from files of the *Press* preserved in its home office. A sketch of the early history of the township is reprinted from the issue of March 28, 1884, and much space is devoted to chronologically arranged items of local interest. Included also are special articles on the problem of water conservation and flood control on the upper Minnesota River, the history of the local schools, and many other subjects.

An interesting local historical museum has been opened in the H. C. Bull Memorial Library at Cokato. In addition to a large number of original objects used by the pioneer settlers of Wright County, the museum has a collection of miniatures prepared by Mr. Carl Good of Stockholm Township. Included are a replica of his childhood home in this community, where his parents settled in 1869, and models of many of the implements used by the frontier farmer. Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Peterson of Cokato are in charge of the museum, which had a special open house on May 29.

